THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Military Review

THE PROCEEDINGS on the eastern front continue to bear the impress of that hard-boiled realism which is characteristic of the German high command rather than of the Hitler inspirational strategy—the strategy which was such a success when its violences were opposed only by words, and such a help to the Allies when its irrationalities encountered sound military planning. The high command's original defense against the Russian attack was broken by the unexpected vigor of the onslaught; instead of clinging to every inch, as the Hitler strategy has done in the past, it is operating on the policy of cut-the-loss, and preparing a new series of battles which will probably sooner or later be featured by a counter-attack.

The terms on which the Germans wish to deliver those battles are becoming fairly clear. In Silesia they were holding, on February 5, at Breslau and on the lower Oder; in the center they were trying to hold Küstrin and Frankfort as bridgeheads across the stream, and Poznan as an isolated enclave behind the enemy lines, important because it denied to Marshal Zhukov the use of the nexus of road and rail lines to which nearly all routes lead from his bases, and from which they fan out to every part of the present front. In East Prussia they were evacuated both by land and sea to Pomerania, where the front was afloat without definite lines.

Either there or somewhere around Glogau, and possibly in both places, a striking force is being built up to cut into the flanks of the Russian salient as soon as it has been held at the center. At the beginning of the week of February 5, this striking force apparently consisted largely of the infantry divisions withdrawn from other fronts and from the general reserve which has not yet come into action. The German armor appeared to be still engaged in trying to check Zhukov's rush before Küstrin in order to gain time for their infantry to reach position. If it succeeds in bringing him to a halt, this armor will undoubtedly be shifted left or right for the counter-attack.

This in turn outlines the problem before the Russian general, which is one of getting his own infantry formations up for the struggle already beginning. He has advanced so fast and far that he cannot have a great deal of it with him; but in the meanwhile he is apparently trying to hit the German armor so hard that it will be incapable of leading any real counter-attack until he has all his troops in position.

The only thing wrong with MacArthur's campaign on Luzon has been the emissions (or lack of them) from headquarters, which have given the whole operation an appearance of effortlessness and prevented anyone from realizing what a perfect military classic it is. There is a tendency when a campaign like this succeeds, to view the whole thing in terms of the advantages enjoyed by the victor. In the present case they were very important: MacArthur has behind him all

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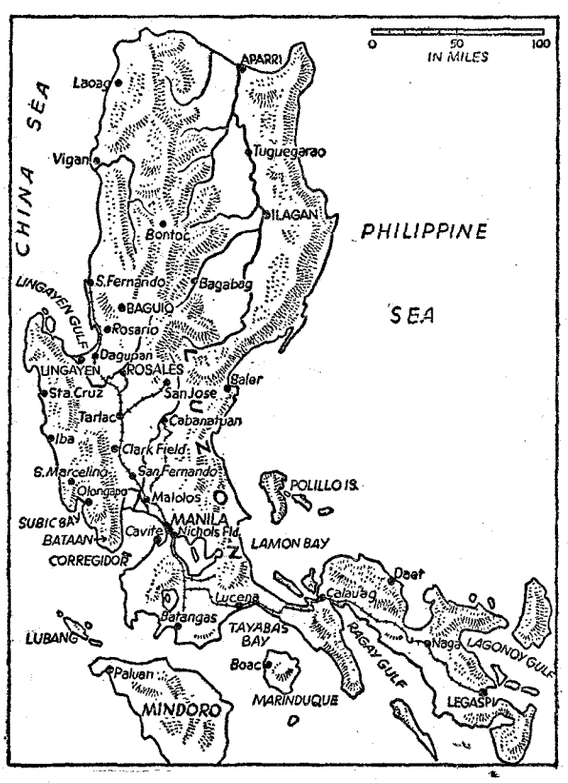
the resources of sea power, an air strength amounting to domination and the help of an aerial blockade which is itself one of the most remarkable events of the war. But the whole military art is that of conducting campaigns on a basis where one's own advantages will be decisive and the enemy's of no effect. The Japanese commander, whether Yamashita or another, had in the beginning a considerable numerical superiority; interior lines and good communications; prepared positions covering every key point; and the less easily definable advantage of Japanese no-surrender morale, which made it possible to sacrifice small groups in positions where they would delay an advance till forces gathered round them.

By some means which we do not yet know, the American general persuaded his opponents that he meant to land at Batangas and Legaspi in the south and brought their heaviest concentrations to those places, while he actually went ashore in Lingayen Gulf and pushed south so rapidly that the enemy found himself faced with the prospect of fighting an open field action against superior force if he were to hold any part of the central valley of Luzon. He logically concluded that the American supply problem could not be solved without a deep-water port and concentrated his northern forces to hold San Fernando while those in the western peninsula adopted the strategy of dispersion and small attacks to complicate MacArthur's difficulties of supply.



Campaign in Luzon

The campaign on Luzon so far has been a masterpiece of tactical maneuver, beautifully climaxed by the raid on the Cabanatuan prison camp and the remarkably speedy entrance into Manila. With our troops already on Mindoro and Marinduque, no surprise seemed possible; yet MacArthur and his subordinates have succeeded in surprising the enemy at every point and have now cut the Japanese forces into four unequal parts and possessed themselves both of interior lines and the best set of communications in the island.

MacArthur calmly ignored San Fernando except for covering attacks strong enough to keep the enemy from cutting into his flank; pushed south till he had the Japs well concentrated around the flanks and head of his column, and then used his sea power to throw the Eighth Army ashore and gain his deep-water port on Subic Bay. With the new landing below Manila, he has cut the Japanese army into segments—a fairly large one south and east of the capital, another fairly large one in the north, and smaller groups east and west of the central valley. It is now the American force that has the interior lines and good communications and can throw an overwhelming concentration on any one of these disparate parts. The campaign is vastly encouraging in its demonstration that we have officers (General Krueger is entitled to a good deal of the credit) who can outmaneuver the enemy and win tactical victories over him at any time. But so far in the Japanese war the tactical victory has only been the first stage; still wanting is a method of converting it into a rapid mop-up.

He Returned

As we say above, the Philippine campaign has been a military classic. In addition, its success has been a profound cause of psychological satisfaction to millions of Americans and perhaps most of all, to General MacArthur. The days when he was forced to leave his men to surrender on Corregidor were among the darkest in our national history, and surely the very darkest in his own. One can only imagine the emotions with which he and the men serving under him freed the American captives on Luzon and set about the task of eradicating final Jap resistance.

National Service

On February 5, Congress appeared very likely to pass national-service legislation along the lines requested by the President. The Senate has insisted on some slight changes in the House bill which would give Selective Service jurisdiction over all men 18 to 45 not in war work, and as a result, the War Manpower Commission may be given a bigger part to play. The NAM, the CIO and practically all the organized groups which have opposed compulsory legislation from the beginning are still against any of the compromise proposals that have been made to date. They believe, as we do and have stated before, that simple passage of a national-service bill will be no real answer to the manpower shortages which exist. Members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee considering the

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House bill admit that it is "too little, too late." Chairman Elbert Thomas of Utah told the press that his committee would act favorably on the work-or-else bill more for its good effect on the morale of men overseas than because they believe it will mean any increase in war production on the home front.

In the fuss over the May-Bailey bill, almost everyone seems to have lost sight of the goal, increased production. We suggest that the Mead Committee in the Senate or the House Committee on Education and Labor proceed immediately to investigate the so-called "critical program" of items short because of manpower deficiencies. With the full facts that such an investigation could turn up, from both labor and management, War Production Chairman Krug might be able to repeat for other critical items the same good job he has just done on aluminum sheets.

War Criminals and Their Friends

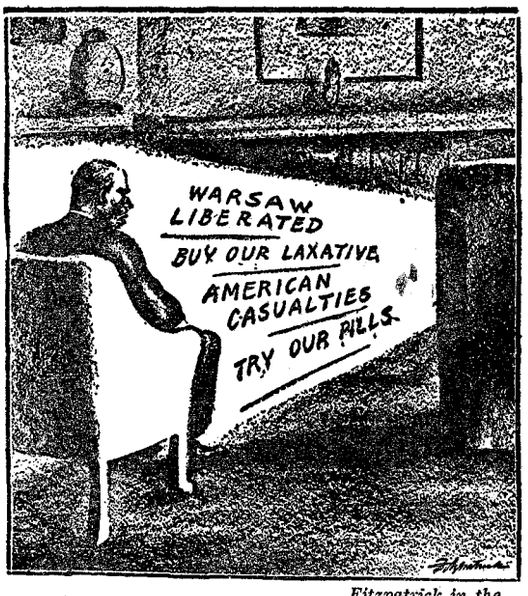
Mr. Joseph C. Grew, Undersecretary of State, has now announced that the American government approves punishing war crimes, including those of the Germans against the Jews, wherever committed. Washington dispatches report that the words "wherever committed" were added to Mr. Grew's statement only at the last moment, because of the insistence of newspapermen at his press conference—surely one of the most extraordinary incidents in the history of diplomacy. Mr. Grew's statement is somewhat reassuring, but the whole situation still needs the most careful watching. There appear to be plenty of people in high places in London and Washington who don't want the war criminals tried, and least of all, for what they have done to the Jews. Some of these people, like Winston Churchill, were notoriously friendly to Nazis or Fascists before the war, and don't want to be quoted in open court. Some of them are anti-Semitic. Some have smothered themselves in red tape. The two best members of the War Crimes Commission, Sir Cecil Hurst, British, and Herbert C. Pell, American, who fought for genuine justice, have both been forced out on slender pretexts. It is not bloodthirstiness that makes us want to see these crimes expiated, but a desire to have the nations recognize and live up to a minimum of moral decency. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of Jews are still in Axis-occupied territory; to abandon them now would be an open incitement to murder. And anti-Semitism will continue after this war is ended; it is important to remind the world that there is such a thing as justice, even though the Nazis and their friends don't think so.

The OWI Reports on France

The Office of War Information should be congratulated on its full and honest report of the economic situation in France. No effort is made, as might have been expected, to gloss over the terrible conditions in which the French find themselves after liberation. The lack of food and heat is traced back to lack of transportation and raw materials. The latter necessitates an industrial shutdown which affects half the labor force of five to six million workers. Although wages have risen 60 to 80 percent, living costs have doubled. Production of electricity has been cut by half, the steel industry is crippled by the loss of raw materials located near the fronts, and the important textile industry stagnates because of the absence of foreign imports of cotton and other materials. The Germans still hold the ports of Dunkirk, Saint-Nazaire, Lorient and La Rochelle, and their control of the mouth of the Gironde River prohibits use of the great port of Bordeaux. Nevertheless, the United States provided civilian supplies totaling 175,000 tons, valued at $30 million, and equipped eight divisions of the French army. The report indicates that about as much as is reasonably possible is being done to alleviate the misery of the French people.

The Crisis in Belgium

The new crisis facing the government of Premier Hubert Pierlot is still unresolved as we go to press. The immediate issue, it seems, is the threat of the Socialists to withdraw from the cabinet unless the latter undertakes a more decisive reform program of economic reconstruction in line with the demands of the resistance movement. Pierlot will probably try to stave off his fall by parliamentary maneuvers and by playing the Socialists against the Communists, who would have to be included in a new government. Doubtless he will invoke the fact that he alone has the confidence of the Anglo-American military command, on whose coöperation an early economic rehabilitation of the country largely depends. But latest reports suggest that the Belgians are tired of these arguments and



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Time for Radio Networks to Come of Age

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that they are prepared to forgo such immediate advantages as come from Anglo-American support of Pierlot in exchange for the promise of a better future given by the leftist parties.

Cleaning Up the News Broadcasts

A hearty Amen to the campaign of The St. Louis Post-Dispatch! This able Midwestern paper is trying to get the four big networks, NBC, Columbia, Mutual and Blue, to stop interrupting news broadcasts with commercials, and not to let such broadcasts be sponsored by advertisers peddling laxatives, indigestion remedies and the like. Says The Post-Dispatch:

> News broadcasts nowadays often reach sublime heights as they tell of the liberation of a Warsaw, of a battle of Bastogne, or they may bring sadness into American homes as casualty figures are released. The public should not be compelled to listen to commercial plugs in the midst of news like this, or be nauseated by the appeals of patent-medicine or cosmetic advertising, while hearing dispatches of heroic proportions.

The Post-Dispatch station, KSD, has been living for some time under this code. Station WJR, Detroit, has banned "middle commercials." So would many other stations if the public would only speak out. We suggest that a few letters to your favorite radio station, protesting such news broadcasts, might help.

People in the Limelight: Ellis Arnall

Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia shows more signs of becoming another Hugo Black or another Claude Pepper than any other young progressive in the South today. He doesn't just talk a good game. In the last year, he has gone out of his way to get into a number of fights that involved liberal issues. He didn't have to get mixed up in the fight against the Clayton-Dunn-etc., appointments to the State Department, but he came out against them. He didn't have to take a stand in the recent battle to block confirmation of Mr. Wallace, but he supported him for RFC director as well as for Secretary of Commerce. He held the Georgia delegation solidly for Wallace at the Chicago Democratic convention. He personally pleaded the Southern Governor's Freight Rate case before the Supreme Court a month ago in very impressive fashion. And most recently, he gave personal leadership to the state legislators who repealed the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in Georgia.

Northern liberals are likely to look at Arnall with astonishment, as being far from their conception of a Georgia Governor. But to alert Southerners, he is no phenomenon, but rather a sign of political things to come. Arnall is lining up with the people who want what he wants for the South, industrialization, and the expanding prosperity for all the people that this can mean when properly directed. His course is honest progressivism, and it is also smart politics today.

Roosevelt and the Big Two

When this issue of The New Republic went to press on February 5, it was generally assumed but not officially confirmed that Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin were conferring in the Near East or not far from it. Possibly the news will be verified before these lines are printed. Whatever is reported, and whenever it comes, it will be fateful tidings. If ever any conference of three persons could be said to hold the fate of mankind for decades to come, this is it.

The list of problems is a staggering one. As Germany nears final collapse, shall unconditional surrender be modified or amplified, to help shorten the war? How shall the Allies divide up the policing job after the fighting stops? What shall be done to Germany thereafter? Shall East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia and the Rhineland be taken away from her permanently? What about the two competing governments of Poland, and Russia's attitude toward them? What about British policy in Greece and Yugoslavia? British-American policy in Italy, Spain, France and Belgium? The apparent return of Britain and Russia to power politics and spheres of influence more or less inimical to future world organization? It must be an egotistical man indeed who believes he can solve all these problems in easy, off-hand fashion. The editors of The New Republic are more inclined to thank heaven that they do not have the responsibility.

There is one item definitely on the good side of the ledger. The United States has apparently ended the Era of Inertia in foreign affairs. Mr. Harry Hopkins has spread word of this change in London, Paris and Rome. Although some of the old guard in the State Department profess not to have heard of it, and are howling bloody murder over the idea, there can be no doubt that Mr. Hopkins speaks for the President. The two important points that have emerged are: 1. The United States has abandoned the idea that boundaries and other important political questions can be postponed until after the end of the war. The effort to do this merely meant that Great Britain and Russia went ahead without us, and that we seemed to be even more completely without any real foreign policy than is in fact the case. 2. The United States is standing by the new and more liberal line evidenced some weeks ago in the Stettinius note on the Sforza affair. Mr. Hopkins has been telling the British that the Greek episode, in particular, shocked the Americans and endangered ratification of Dumbarton Oaks. The Polish situation has equally shocked a somewhat different section of the American public, with the same results. No doubt Mr. Roosevelt has been telling Stalin and Churchill the same thing, with more emphasis.

One of the first problems for the Big Three is whether or not unconditional surrender should not be at least explained, if not modified, to the German

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people, to persuade them to rise against the Nazis, shorten the war and save the lives of our soldiers. In fact, the Psychological Warfare Division of the United States Army has already tried to modify the picture of unconditional surrender that exists in the Germans' minds. In leaflets dropped behind the German lines it has been telling the people that after surrender they will be treated according to the rules of civilized warfare for handling civilians—something the Germans themselves have never done yet for any conquered population. Obviously, there must be no compromise with the Nazis, and least of all at this late date. But if, without such compromise, we can tell the non-Nazi and anti-Nazi Germans that if they throw out the gangsters they themselves will not be torn limb from limb, and if by so doing we can shorten the war, it would be criminal and immoral for us to fail to act.

On the general question of power politics in Europe, Mr. Roosevelt can do little but give advice; in this situation he becomes only a moderator between the Big Two. He cannot possibly threaten the withdrawal of American aid during the war, because victory is as much in our interest as anyone's else. He can hardly threaten withdrawal of aid after the war, since we are also deeply involved in the benefits accruing from rapid reconstruction and solid peace. To be sure, he can threaten that the disillusioned Americans will hesitate to ratify Dumbarton Oaks; but our allies have two answers to that: 1. It still seems far from certain that America will ratify Dumbarton Oaks in any case, no matter how much immediate advantage Britain and Russia might sacrifice to bring it about. 2. It is doubtful whether Mr. Roosevelt can speak for Congress on this subject, when only a few days ago he carried the Senate by a single vote on a question involving confirmation of his recent Vice President—and even that vote was cast, and for technical reasons, by his bitter enemy, Senator Robert A. Taft. Stalin and Churchill are likely to pay more attention to The New York Times's poll of the Senate showing 68 members, two more than two-thirds, in favor of the Vandenberg plan for an alliance of the five chief allies to keep Germany and Japan demilitarized.

Without stopping now to analyze who is to blame for the situation, we can see more clearly than ever that to have the world run by three individuals on a basis of personality, temperament and whim is just about the worst possible way to do it. We need a United Nations Council, and democratic decisions arrived at with as much publicity as is compatible with military safety—which is a precious lot more than we are getting now. We need decisions about Germany based on preventing another war, not on anybody's pathological desire for revenge. We need a peoples' peace; and it is more than ever evident that only peoples' governments can write such a peace.

The Men Against Wallace

RATIFICATION OF Wallace's nomination as Secretary of Commerce has now been postponed to the first of March. In this armistice we have time to review the facts as they have developed thus far.

Who Was Against Him?—The real test of the Wallace strength came on the vote to take up first the George bill, divorcing the lending agencies from the Department of Commerce. His enemies, who wanted to defeat him completely, hoped to vote first on confirmation, correctly assuming that there was no chance of his being confirmed with the George bill still pending. On this vote Mr. Wallace won, 43 to 41. It was a narrow victory; if Senator Taft, one of Wallace's bitterest enemies, had not switched his vote for reasons of his own, we should have seen a tie. Fifteen reactionary Democrats voted with 26 of the worst Republicans against Wallace. The Democrats included Bailey, Bankhead, Byrd, Connally, George, McCarran, McKellar, O'Daniel and Tydings. The reactionary Republicans included Bridges, Brooks, Capehart, Capper, Hickenlooper, Hiram Johnson, Tobey, Vandenberg and Wiley. On the other hand, nine progressive Republicans broke away from their party to support Wallace: Aiken, Austin, Brewster, Burton, Langer, Morse, Saltonstall, Shipstead and Wilson. LaFollette (Progressive) also voted for Wallace.

No one could need better evidence that this was a clear-cut battle between the past and the future. The Unholy Alliance was on one side; liberals on the other.

The President's Letter.—Opinion is divided, and doubtless will continue to be divided, as to the significance of the President's letter to Jesse Jones, which seemed to put the whole operation in the most cynical and sordid terms of paying off political debts. We don't know the answer, and it does not seem to us important. For the issue has gone far beyond the President's own attitude and choices, except of course that, without his aid, Mr. Wallace has little chance of being confirmed. The issue is now one affecting the whole future of this country. It is as definite and significant as the presidential election itself.

Should Wallace Take the Job?—Opinion is also divided as to whether Mr. Wallace should refuse to head the Department of Commerce when the job has been whittled down to negligible importance. Some of his friends, and all of his enemies, argue that he should retire to private life and try as Willkie did to influence the course of events by speaking and writing. Mr. Wallace said himself, at the dinner in his honor given by The New Republic and the Union for Democratic Action in New York on January 29, that he would

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refuse the job if the lending agencies were put under a man who is a practitioner of "too little and too late." While this decision is for Mr. Wallace alone, we believe, on the whole, that he should take the position even in its whittled-down state. One of the chief rules of military strategy is: Always maintain contact with the enemy if you possibly can. A retreat to private life would be easier and simpler for Mr. Wallace; but it would be a retreat, and so interpreted by his friends and his foes alike.

Jesse Is Gone. – In the excitement over the Wallace affair, the liberals seemed to overlook one very great gain: whatever else happens, Jesse Jones is out of the Cabinet, even though his influence lingers on in the person of Mr. Will Clayton in the Department of State. We have little against Mr. Jones personally; we do not doubt that he is a nice fellow to his friends, and his business operations probably live up to the standards of frontier morality. But we simply cannot afford any longer the luxury of tycoons in big jobs, whether well meaning or not, who do not understand the modern world. Mr. Jones and his friends brought on the depression of 1929 and did not even have wit enough to see it coming. Their solution for economic problems was and is to let the poor sell apples. They ran the national economy and their own business enterprises into the ground and then came hysterically to Washington begging for help. Now that, through precious little ability of their own, they have been put back on their feet, they can't even remember the lessons of '29, '33 and '37. There comes a time when their persistent and enthusiastic efforts to maintain and accentuate national poverty cease to be amusing. In or out of Commerce, Henry Wallace has become a symbol of the application of intelligence to public affairs. The fight of which he is a part will go on; and it will end in victory.

The World After the War

IV: Prosperity: The Key to Peace

THERE IS A striking passage in Hitler's speech on January 30 celebrating the twelfth anniversary of the Nazi regime. He reminded his hearers that when he took power Germany had

> almost 7 million unemployed, 7 million part-time workers, a destroyed farmers' class, a ruined industry and a commerce that had become correspondingly prostrate. The German ports were nothing but ship cemeteries. The financial situation of the country threatened at any moment to lead to a collapse. . . .

Hitler was not merely describing the conditions when he came to power; he was describing the conditions which brought him to power. There is ample testimony that poverty and unemployment played a great part in creating the apathy or despair that made possible the Nazis' rise. Young men with no job and no hope of one became storm troopers. The impoverished middle class felt that Hitler's gang could hardly do worse than the liberal democratic regime had done. Hunger and misery seemed to reinforce the arguments of those who said the Allies had sought to strangle Germany and that the only recourse must be to military strength.

Germany is not the only country in modern times to have given us an example of economic distress leading to political revolution. It is obvious that the Bolshevists could not have come to power in Russia in 1917 if the Tsar's government had not almost completely destroyed the nation's economic life. Mussolini marched on Rome when there was serious economic distress in Italy, and after a false scare about possible revolutionary action by the industrial workers of Northern Italy. Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Brazil—the list can be indefinitely extended of countries in which the machinery of government has broken down and been supplanted by dictatorship largely because farmers could not sell their products at decent prices, workers were jobless, businessmen saw their prosperity disintegrate before their eyes.

Similarly, no one needs to argue the close relationship between economic distress and war. Even if Hitler had changed his mind between 1933 and 1939, he would hardly have dared to put an end to the preparations for war, since these preparations maintained a fictitious prosperity and employment, the rosy flush of fever, and he did not know how to keep German industry going in any other way. Mussolini made war on Ethiopia in 1934 when conditions at home were getting so bad that he had to do something to divert the attention of the populace from its empty stomachs.

It is perfectly apparent that unless there is substantial prosperity and employment in all the leading countries of the world after the war, there is no hope of a permanent world organization or of enduring peace. Unless the nations manage to order their economic life so as to put an end to the recurring catastrophe of depression, they open the door to dictatorship internally and cutthroat economic rivalry—a forerunner of war—abroad. What is the present outlook for good times when the guns have stopped firing?

Soviet Russia is now geared to a tremendous production of goods. We realize today that the deep poverty of her people for years before the beginning of the Second World War was due largely to the fact that she was choosing guns instead of butter. Her production of coal is substantially greater than that of the United States, according to the 1945 World Almanac; her production of crude oil has increased seven times since 1920 and one-third since 1930; her production of steel has gone ahead amazingly. She has built a whole series

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of new cities behind the Urals, with an expenditure of effort and materials at which we can only guess. Her military establishment is now strong. While she has only limited naval power, her army must certainly be the largest and one of the best equipped in the world, even without taking account of Lend-Lease. With the end of this war, she should be able to turn to production of civilian goods and raise the low standard of living that now prevails. This would be doubly true if she felt sufficient confidence in the good intentions of her present allies, and in collective security, to relax her military activities somewhat. Whatever you may say of the Russian economic organization, it does not tolerate unemployment. The danger mentioned above therefore has no reality for the USSR.

Great Britain after the war will have a difficult time. She has spent most of her accumulated investments abroad, on which her economy was largely based. The bonds of empire, which work to her great advantage, are sure to be loosened no matter how sentimentally New Zealanders or Canadians may continue to chant "God Save the King." Much of her machinery is badly out of date: in coal and textiles, for example, productivity per worker is low by the best modern standards because of obsolescent equipment. On the other hand, Great Britain is far more conscious of her plight than this country would be under parallel circumstances. Her government and industrialists work together, instead of fighting each other. The influence of men like Beveridge, Woolton and Keynes is very great, and among them they should go far toward preventing the excesses of poverty and unemployment which marred the British record in the first four decades of this century.

As for the Western European countries, their economic outlook is uncertain just for the reason that it is so largely beyond their control. The popular democratic movements in these countries are based on a good understanding of economic realities, and if they had a fair chance, they could certainly create and maintain prosperity, provided conditions elsewhere—notably the United States—did not drag them down.

What of this country? Gunnar Myrdal, brilliant Swedish economist, who left here a few months ago after a visit of several years, thinks that control in the United States is still in the hands of men who lack both the knowledge and the will to maintain prosperity: *i.e.*, bankers and industrialists. Dr. Myrdal expects at least one more severe depression in the United States before we learn to put our economic house in order. He comments on the folly of American conservatives who have made a pledge to the people that so-called "free enterprise" will guarantee against unemployment. They have needlessly tied their whole future to a promise they cannot possibly fulfill. When the depression comes, the people will certainly remember these foolish boasts.

The best expression of the industrialists' hopes is to be found in the Committee for Economic Development. One looks in vain in all its literature for any real understanding of, or attempt to grapple with, this problem. Its most important efforts are at the level of trying to create more jobs in local communities by hurrah-boys methods, these jobs to be mainly superfluous additional activities in the field of selling and distribution. Even if its tax program were wholly good, it would never be adequate to turn the tide against depression.

As for Congress, its dereliction is really shocking. It does not even offer such minimum aids as severance pay and carfare home for war workers. By refusing to increase social-security taxes now when times are good, it cuts down the fund that will be available when hard times hit. And they will hit soon; four to five million will be unemployed a month or two after the war ends in Europe, fifteen to twenty million soon after Japan is defeated. The subsequent boom in consumers' goods will be mixed and spotty and in any case will probably be over in eighteen to twenty-four months.

The United States is the keystone in the arch of world prosperity. If we fail to handle our affairs intelligently, we may drag down the world structure, as we did in 1931. Yet in this country no one seems concerned except a part of the trade-union movement, a comparatively small part of the farmers, the political progressives and some college professors of economics. To be sure, a great many of the plain people are worrying, but thus far they have had no means of making their voices heard effectively. One of the two greatest jobs now facing the progressives—the other being Dumbarton Oaks—is to mobilize effectively and save the American conservatives from the burning desire they display to cut their own throats, and ours in the bargain.

This is the fourth of a series of editorials. The fifth will discuss Dumbarton Oaks. – THE EDITORS

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

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Is Radio Going Liberal?

A SURPRISING DEVELOPMENT in the broadcasting industry this year is the sudden cordiality of the major networks toward organized labor. In a period when commercial sponsors are literally standing in line to purchase radio time, the networks are rolling out the red carpet for the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor, offering coast-to-coast facilities for weekly broadcasts, and without time costs. The full significance of its new policy can be grasped when it is recalled that labor has long accused radio of denying it time and facilities to express its views. The approval of three of the four major chains (the Mutual Broadcasting System, which is largely controlled by Colonel Robert McCormick, refused to go along) indicates that the workingman is having his best day in radio in the history of organized labor in the United States.

As labor is receiving new air time, anti-laborites are losing it. Henry J. Taylor, whose anti-labor, anti-administration commentaries were broadcast five times a week over the Blue Network, has been let go. Upton Close, a bird of the same feather, was fired by NBC, although his disruptionist line is still being aired over Mutual, which is also the network of anti-laborites Bill Cunningham and Fulton Lewis Jr.

On the other hand, powerful New York stations are airing the comment of two eloquent progressives, both comparatively new to radio. William Gailmor broadcasts nightly over WJZ, key outlet of the Blue Network, and the smear attacks against him by Westbrook Pegler and The New York World-Telegram have thus far failed to shake the confidence of Blue officials. Another commentator not likely to draw the praise of reactionary forces is J. Raymond Walsh, director of research for the CIO, now heard daily over WMCA, "the nation's leading independent station."

All of this is cheering news for labor. The distortion of labor news, notably wartime strikes, in the press is an accepted fact. Not so well known, but just as harmful to the cause of labor, have been the efforts of the radio industry to keep labor's views off the air.

Are these developments to be interpreted as signs of a new liberal radio policy toward labor? That will depend on how sincere the big chains are in maintaining a fair balance of opinion on the air and in enforcing adherence to the truth.

What about the labor programs? Will the networks promote them as vigorously as they have some of their other sustaining shows? Will the labor programs be carried by only a handful of stations? Will they be kicked around by arbitrary cancellation, replacements and shifts to different hours? Will the code of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB), a set of regulations with no official status, be dragged in, as it has so often in the past, to restrict the content of programs, or censor them entirely?

Labor still remembers its bitter experience with its only previous network program, "Labor for Victory," broadcast Sundays over NBC at one p. m., EWT, an hour at which even Bob Hope would be hard put to catch a very large audience. The program, aired for two years, was repeatedly and increasingly censored and was finally canceled because of an unjustifiable concern that political partisanship would be reflected in the program content. Of the 150 stations affiliated with NBC, only 44 carried the program.

If radio has adopted a liberal policy—and we shall need more evidence to prove it—there can be no denying that labor has provided the impetus.

Close and Taylor were not dismissed solely because they lost popularity. Their discharge stemmed from the recognition of labor's political arm, the power and influence generated by the CIO Political Action Committee. The protests directed against these prejudiced newscasters were symbolic of the progressive spirit which the PAC engendered during the campaign—and which the networks couldn't ignore. Radio saw in the PAC not an emergency campaign committee (despite the hostile press comment that it was set up to direct the fourth-term drive), but a strong, permanent organization which would exert tremendous influence on American life. As much as radio opposed the PAC and its aims, it was forced to agree with labor's leaders that labor had come of age and must be treated on a par with other groups.

Labor had waited a long time for this recognition. It was inconceivable that organized labor, the second largest organized group in the country, second only to the churches, couldn't get time, even when it offered to pay for it, while employer associations were given millions of dollars' worth of free time to present their views and policies. Labor remembered that it had been forbidden to seek new members over the air, while employers could recruit employees, or discuss controversial issues, race, religion and politics, while anti-labor agitators like Fulton Lewis, Taylor and Boake Carter were permitted to air their biases daily.

In reviewing the use of radio, the PAC noted that: (1) the networks, controlled by the huge corporate interests which opposed the PAC and its aims, had successfully restricted labor's voice; (2) such practices, in violation of the Communications Acts of 1934 and contrary to the spirit of the FCC, had never been corrected because the people were lethargic and unconscious of their legal rights; (3) the people were generally unfamiliar with the workings of the radio

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industry and were unprepared to deal with the networks in the purchase of time, the presentation of programs and various technical points.

The PAC set out to rectify these conditions. A radio handbook outlined the people's stake in radio. The idea that the air belonged to the people and must operate in its behalf, as Congress decreed, was emphasized. It told how, when and to whom the people could protest if stations treated them unfairly and contrary to the public interest. It suggested various types of programs to capture audience interest and printed sample scripts. Technical suggestions were made.

The PAC's role in radio has not been so dramatic or so widely publicized as other phases of its operations, but the radio industry knew what was cooking at Sidney Hillman's headquarters. The authors of this article believe that what was done here, radio-wise, helped influence the networks to open their facilities to labor and to crack down on their labor-baiters.

The networks warned that stations would not broadcast dramatizations on political time. But the PAC went ahead and transcribed a series of dramatized programs for political broadcasts, employing top writers, actors and producers. The transcriptions were distributed to unions, placed locally and broadcast on scores of stations from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon. Senator Robert A. Taft threatened to sue stations in Ohio if they dared broadcast the PAC's dramatized programs exposing his obstructionist record. The stations were not intimidated.

The PAC also established a 24-hour-a-day monitoring system which checked news commentators for their appraisal of labor and the PAC. This service revealed, somewhat to the astonishment of the networks, the extent to which prejudice dominated so-called "news." Throughout the campaign the PAC distributed musical and dramatic recordings, spot announcements and specially written scripts to suit the needs of the various regions. Advice was also constantly given on radio problems as they arose in different parts of the country.

But the PAC was not alone in focusing national attention on radio's unfair treatment of labor and non-profit organizations. The action of the United Automobile Workers' Union, the CIO's largest affiliate, in bringing Station WHKC, Columbus, Ohio, before the FCC on charges of censorship and discrimination, served to dramatize the grievances of the entire labor movement against radio.

The result was a clear-cut triumph for labor. The station agreed to eliminate censorship, to maintain a fair balance among various points of view and to make time available to non-profit organizations as well as to labor for the discussion of issues of public importance, including controversial issues. The real significance of the victory, however, was the sharp repudiation of the NAB Code.

The Code has been repeatedly attacked for preventing the expression of labor's opinions on the air, and station managers have found it an excellent excuse for denying labor the right to air its views. In fact, the Code makes no secret of its bias, for it states, "Discussion of labor problems is almost always of a controversial nature." Nowhere does the Code mention that a discussion of industry's problems is of a controversial nature. Clifford Durr, FCC Commissioner, stressed the prejudice inherent in the Code in the fall, 1944, issue of Public Opinion Quarterly, pointing out that while labor's membership statistics could not be aired under the Code's "controversial" clause, a business-sponsored program could explain the "benefits" received from international cartel agreements.

Even union-sponsored programs designed as a public service and without a labor slant are taboo. A series of transcribed UAW programs, dramatizing the necessity for maintaining an anti-inflation front, were rejected despite the UAW's willingness to pay full rates for air time. The reason? The NAB warned stations not to carry the recordings on the ground that they were "controversial" and violated the Code.

Aside from exposing the Code, the UAW-WHKC case produced for the first time the use of content analysis to weigh scientifically the measure of a commentator's impartiality. Testimony revealed that while WHKC censored UAW speeches, it did not interfere with the venomous talks of Fulton Lewis Jr., kingpin of the hate-labor chorus. The station manager protested that Lewis was "absolutely neutral." The UAW proved otherwise by presenting the findings of a content-analysis expert whose study of 175 Lewis broadcasts revealed that Lewis was unfair to labor 57 percent of the time and favorable only 5 percent.

Perhaps the real test of radio's newly professed liberalism lies not in its relation to labor *per se*, but in such broad issues as the fight for free speech and the defense of those who practise it. Judging from the record, radio can hardly lay claim to crusading for this cardinal principle.

Sam Balter, Mutual news analyst, was ousted because he offended Colonel McCormick by attacking fascism and defending our allies, notably Soviet Russia. On the West Coast, Commentator John Burton lost sponsor after sponsor because of his support of labor and progressive views. Although these incidents were flagrant violations of the fundamental basis of free radio, not a single network official rose to the defense of the ousted men. It remained for thousands of listeners to rally to the commentators' support.

On this issue of news commentators, some industry spokesmen may feel that labor, by opposing Taylor and Close and supporting Balter and Burton, is insisting that only pro-labor commentators be aired. This is not so. What labor asks is a fair balance of opinion—as the FCC regulations call for. As long as anti-labor

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commentators are free to express their opinions, labor wants equal freedom to give its own views.

Radio today faces grave responsibilities. America's postwar problems require clear thinking and discussion. Radio must be depended upon to convey to the American people the varied proposals for solving these problems. It might, for example, serve as one of the effective agencies in overcoming postwar prejudices likely to spring up between civilian and veteran, labor and management, farmer and worker, and among racial groups. Dramatization of the two chief postwar goals—full employment and permanent peace—with emphasis on the coöperation necessary on the part of labor, business, agriculture and government, is a typical service it can render.

Radio must realize that the future of our democracy—the only form of government in which free radio can survive—depends on an educated and well informed America. Radio must realize that it can be the instrument for accomplishing this. It has the power; it has the audience. It remains to be seen if it has the will. EMIL CORWIN and ALAN REITMAN

Trouble-Shooter Extraordinary

THE BATTERED black notebook which Morris L. Cooke carries around with him has become a personal trademark. It contains an alphabetical list of his friends and acquaintances, who run into the thousands. Cooke sometimes refers to it when he needs professional advice, but more often he uses it as an address-finder for the little personal gifts and mementoes he mails out every day.

Many of Washington's hard-boiled political realists are mildly astonished by this characteristic foible. But Cooke has many other eccentricities which puzzle them still more. For instance, although he is (among other things) one of the President's closest advisers; diplomat and envoy extraordinary; a leading arbitrator between labor and industry; one of the nation's most effective conservationists and the foremost living exponent of scientific management, Cooke prefers to be known by the simple title, "Consulting Engineer." He avoids politics and never goes to cocktail parties. One of the hardest-worked men in the country, he tells reporters that "No one can forget work as easily as I can." He refuses to discuss his wartime activities with the press, even though his development of the small-industries program, his improvements in shipping and packaging, his study of ghost towns, his settlement of the Mexican oil dispute, his arbitration of the bituminous-coal strike and his leadership of the recent technical mission to Brazil would crowd an ordinary lifetime. At the age of 72, he looks more like 50, and he is more fertile in ideas than he was 20 years ago. Despite the immense amount of work he does, Cooke seems to spend most of his time with people who come to him for advice and help. And strangest of all—for the realists—he is beloved by everyone who knows him, from the doormen at his hotel to the nation's highest officials.

Surprisingly enough, Morris Cooke is not widely known to the public at large. His aversion to publicity is partly responsible for this, but a more important reason is to be found in his operating methods. Cooke has one of the most genuinely unique official positions in the nation. He usually receives his assignments direct from the President. He has always preferred to work on a free-lance basis in order to escape red tape and be able to carry on several different projects at once. Consequently, he has seldom held a single job long enough to become known outside government circles. Most of the ideas he carries into operation are his own. No one can gage the amount of unobtrusive influence which Cooke has exerted on our national legislation during the last ten or fifteen years, but it has been tremendous. Some people consider Morris Cooke a product of the New Deal. It would probably be more accurate to put it the other way around. Some of the New Deal's most popular programs have stemmed from the thinking of this incisive elderly engineer, who dresses in conventional tones, wears the brim of his hat turned up, and might easily be mistaken for a business man or a professor.

In 1938 a tense diplomatic situation threatened when Mexico's President Camacho decided to expropriate the Mexican holdings of certain large American oil companies. After a futile exchange of notes, both countries decided to appoint experts to arbitrate the problem. The United States named Morris Cooke. When he arrived in Mexico, Cooke found his hotel room crowded with reporters. He was immediately asked for a statement. Knowing that the Mexican press has a habit of dramatically playing up confidential remarks, Cooke thought a moment, then announced: "Well, gentlemen—and this is strictly off the record—I can only paraphrase a statement made by my illustrious fellow countryman, Benjamin Franklin. I have come here to confer, not to contend, with the Mexicans. I am sure we will reach an amicable solution." The next day, his statement was quoted in leading editorials throughout Mexico. It created an excellent impression, and set the American mission off to a flying start. To Cooke's chagrin, many reporters have been comparing him to Benjamin Franklin ever since.

Many people find it hard to reconcile Cooke's friendly personality with his scientific working tech-

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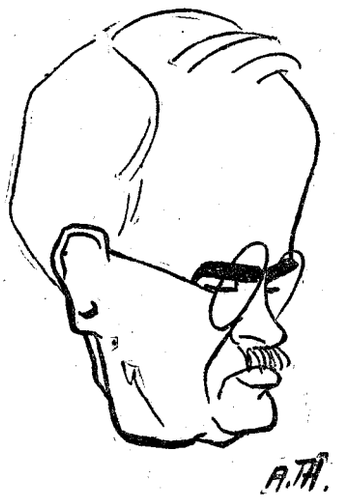
nique. Those who worked with him on the Mississippi Valley Report will tell you that he regarded his end objective—the Valley's sharecroppers and tenants—almost sentimentally. For Cooke, his successful arbitration of the Mexican oil tangle meant "The beginnings of a diplomacy based on enlightened global national interest; of peoples calling on peoples for understanding and common action against whatever it may be that tends to smother common human longings."

According to Morris Cooke, his interest in scientific management first began in a small printing shop in Philadelphia, where he worked as a machinist. The other workers made a practice of spitting tobacco juice into the printing ink, to make it flow more freely. Unable to stomach this particular technique any longer, he decided to institute a one-man program of reform in his shop. His work later called him to the attention of Frederick Taylor, and Cooke became a close friend of the famous economist. He still sports Taylor's watch chain, and has a deep admiration for Taylor. But Cooke was never blind to the limitations of Taylor's theories. The Father of Scientific Management regarded efficiency as the end of all reform. He misunderstood and distrusted labor. In return, the newly born unions looked upon scientific management as a stretch-out system, and they carried on a hate campaign against Taylor until his death.



Cooke, on the other hand, has always regarded the workers as sufficient end in themselves. Labor, traditionally suspicious of neutral judges in any controversy, respects Cooke and trusts him implicitly. He may not always give its representatives what they want, but they know that he is there "to confer and not to contend" and to see that both sides get a square deal. He feels that it should be possible to create a working spirit between labor and management which transcends organization. This will be facilitated, he argues, if the men are allowed to participate in managerial decisions. He has shocked many dyed-in-the-wool Taylorites with such heretical remarks as "Science unrelated to human beings is even more dangerous than industry detached from life," and "Too many employers concentrate on giving their men a financial incentive to produce. They forget there is also a non-financial incentive, and that it is a lot more important. Workers should know, not only how to produce a commodity, but why they produce it."

Most business men shy away from this unorthodox radical who puts human beings before profits. But a surprisingly large number of broad-minded industrialists are willing to admit that Cooke has opened their eyes to the psychological factor in production. At the same time, he has made labor understand the economic benefits of more efficient working methods. Organized labor is well aware that Cooke inaugurated the first municipal study of unemployment in this country; that he issued the first governmental labor directive, during the last war; that he acted as arbitrator for numerous unions, when "union" was still considered a shooting word; and that he was largely instrumental in eliminating the long day in steel.

As these activities indicate, Morris Cooke is a social pioneer. His friends say that he is always at least 25 years ahead of the times, and never afraid to stick his neck out on a new idea. He is no theorist spending his time trying to convince people that needed reforms should be made. Instead, whenever Cooke gets an idea, he immediately puts it into blueprints to prove that it will work.

Among the first to recognize the dangers of soil erosion, Cooke has fought the hardest to make people aware of the urgent need for control measures. He warns that "Unless we can cope quickly and competently with soil erosion, our most prized national possessions will lose their significance. And so will pass also the opportunity for high, undreamt adventure for which we have been laying the foundations in this country. As matters stand today, our country as a vital force in human affairs will probably disappear within 100 years. We can have a comprehensive conservation set-up in full operation in 10 years, and have the problem licked in 40. But it will not be easy."

The kind of set-up which Morris Cooke advocates is broader than any yet put into operation. He believes that all of the nation's forestry, soil-conservation and water-power activities should be integrated in one authority. Our engineers and economists, he feels, have been trying to attack the problem piecemeal. Too much emphasis has been placed on downstream engineering and flood-control activities, while not enough attention has been given to soil erosion and watershed drainage, which create floods. We should go upstream, Cooke claims, to the point where erosion starts. By controlling the original raindrops, we can prevent erosion and floods before they get under way. This would require much simpler and less costly methods. And downstream, multiple-purpose dams should be built, to furnish simultaneously recreation, electricity and an adequate water supply, making it possible to develop new agricultural methods and industrial projects.

The Mississippi Valley Report, of which Cooke was chairman, outlined these theories on a yardstick basis. It dramatically translated the mean annual flow of the

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Valley streams into terms of flood-control, navigation, power-development, anti-pollution and forestry programs. It proposed a tentative 20-year program of conservation for the Valley. Not all of the possibilities it suggested have been realized, though the TVA has made a good start on many of them. Cooke also headed the Great Plains Report, prepared in the wake of the great dust-bowl drought, which proposed conservation of land and water through better farming practices, and improved land-tenure, tax and relief systems.

Cooke's interest in conservation developed out of his parallel battle against the monopolistic practices of our big utilities. As Director of Public Works, he forced the Philadelphia Electric Company to reduce its rates by more than a million dollars. In 1915 he published "Snapping Cords," which indicted the utilities on several different counts. As a result of his publicity, Governor Pinchot appointed a Giant Power Survey in 1923, to work out methods of controlling Pennsylvania's electrical industry, and placed Cooke at its head. After two years of research, Cooke turned in a far-reaching report which proposed a Giant Power Board to plan the electrical future of the state; the use of transmission lines as common carriers; economically located generating stations; and a rural-electrification program. Later, he became a member of the New York State Power Authority, under Governor Roosevelt. As administrator of the REA, Cooke refused to truckle to politicians, lawyers or the 57 varieties of private interests. It is largely due to his early efforts in getting the REA organized that more than a million farms are now enjoying the benefits of electricity.

Cooke is the son of a country doctor. A large part of his early life was spent at factory benches. His great interest in people, regardless of their rank or opinions, is a common denominator that places everyone he meets on equal terms. I have talked to a large number of Morris Cooke's friends, in a wide variety of occupations. Many of them disagree fundamentally with some of his ideas, but they all have the same respect and affection for him. An outstanding labor leader told me: "Morris Cooke has an undying faith in the American people, and he has the guts to fight for it. That is one reason why labor has such a high regard for him." And the president of one of our largest utility companies declared: "Cooke and I have been on opposite sides of the utility fence for 35 years now. But I have a very great respect for his integrity of purpose, and for his honest intellectuality. Nothing could ever change my faith in him as an honest-minded, earnest striver for the public good."

He is an instinctive democrat, using the word in its broadest sense. He votes for the party which he considers most progressive. Consequently, the press never knows how to label him. Opinions differ even among his friends. Thoroughgoing conservatives disown him because of his advanced notions, while socialists deprecate his unwillingness to come out unequivocally in favor of public ownership. Cooke himself says, "Bad management is bad management, whether it is public or private. I'm for good management, and I don't particularly care where the ownership happens to lie."

Largely as a result of his own personal democracy, Morris Cooke is one of the most effective administrators Washington has ever had. As administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration, he cultivated the friendship of each one of his employees, from the receptionist on up. He adopted the unheard-of practice of setting aside one evening each month, during which employees might bring their personal troubles to him for help and advice. He especially encouraged his workers to meet those in other bureaus. Cooke also introduced other innovations, including the Group Health Plan and the trainee system. Whenever an important job has come up, his workers have shown an unfailing loyalty. When, in 1935, Congress balked at appropriating funds for the Soil Conservation Program, Cooke whipped together a graphic report showing the necessity for such action. As a result Congress appropriated an even larger sum than had been requested.

Cooke has a reporter's instinct for new ideas and he is absolutely unstinting of time and energy in helping to further those he considers good. The other day, he heard of a worth-while lecture in New York. Without hesitation he hopped the next train, caught the speech, and returned to Washington that evening. This particular speech happened to be on the subject of postwar production. Cooke believes that America is approaching one of the most crucial economic decisions in her history. The next few years, he maintains, will decide whether we continue to enjoy the benefits of full production or whether we idle into a period of unemployment "which will make 1932 look like a pink tea party." We must continue to utilize the new techniques that have made our astonishing war production possible. Cooke feels that a comprehensive study of our wartime production should be made immediately.

In a new book on Brazil,[1] Cooke charts the economic future which Brazilians expect as soon as she develops a communications system and learns how to utilize her water and metals resources. He has outlined a concrete economic program to implement our good-neighbor policy in Latin America. While eliminating foreign exploitation and outlawing foreign cartels, it would stimulate the growth of native industries and fair labor practices there. He is also proposing international conservation, through world power developments after the war. In his spare time he is trying to persuade American business to broaden its vision.

[1] "Brazil on the March" (Whittlesey House, $3), to be reviewed in The New Republic by A. G. Mezerik. – THE EDITORS

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Many of Cooke's ideas are developed in conjunction with his wife, who shares his own planning abilities. Indeed, their friends regard the Cookes as a single operating unit. When Morris Cooke accepted his recent appointment to Brazil, he was appalled to learn that he would have to fly all the way. He has an extreme dislike of airplanes, which Mrs. Cooke shares. But she insisted on going along, so that if there should be an accident, they would crash together.

A high executive told me recently: "Morris Cooke is a new type of official in our government; a type that should be encouraged. Operating on a commission basis, he has found it possible to keep an independent, progressive outlook and maintain an astonishing vitality of ideas. He has steadily grown in stature and he has made an unparalleled social contribution."

That seems to sum up the opinion of everyone who knows Morris Cooke and realizes how much America may owe to this unassuming consulting engineer from Pennsylvania.

POTOMACUS

The Road to More World Trade

Once a country's international economic position becomes vulnerable, it takes protective measures. A loss of export markets; a precipitate decline of export prices; excessive imports or advances to foreign countries; termination, or a marked reduction, of loans from abroad—any or all of these may bring a crisis. At first, recourse is had to the sale of gold or foreign exchange abroad. Then various measures follow, and the more desperate the situation the more unorthodox and extreme the policies adopted.

A relatively simple attack is to borrow for short periods abroad. In the years after 1925, the British, who could command the necessary confidence and who, under the pressure of a weakened international position, monetary stringency and high rates of interest, could offer an inducement, relied heavily on short-term foreign loans. Borrowing abroad under these circumstances is, however, only a palliative and besides is not available to all. A second approach is through special trade agreements under which Country A agrees to buy more of Country B's goods if the latter will buy more from the former. As an example, the British Imperial Preference program should be mentioned. Failing to maintain foreign markets, the United Kingdom attempted to arrogate to itself an increased share of the markets of the dominions. This is a form of protectionism, since the favored position of British countries in British markets was obtained largely not through reductions of tariff barriers within the Empire, but rather through raising tariff barriers against the outside world. The United Kingdom's imports from the United States fell from 18.9 percent of total imports in 1924 to 11.1 percent in 1937. Although the deterioration of our position in the British market should not be associated exclusively with Imperial Preference, the fact that throughout the thirties the trade of the United Kingdom with the dominions continued to increase, while trade with the United States declined, is indicative of the efforts of the Ottawa Agreements.

A third attack is through clearing agreements. There are many kinds of clearing agreements; but they all tend to channelize trade and discourage purchases from the cheapest markets. Germany, for example, may normally import more from Brazil than the latter buys from Germany. Under a clearing agreement, Brazil is coerced into buying from Germany products she does not need or could more cheaply buy elsewhere. In this manner, and in this manner alone, Brazil is allowed to cash in on her excess of exports.

Under the quota system—our fourth protectionist device—a country allows imports by commodities or countries on a quota basis. Under this system, the government can discriminate between countries and thus raise serious political problems. The resulting scarcity of imported commodities, where control is not maintained all along the line, results in speculative practices which are unfortunate indeed. The importing country may thus be spared foreign exchange; but frequently the final buyers will pay as much in domestic currency for the reduced supplies as they would have paid for the larger amounts under normal trade conditions.

Fifth, there is the familiar device of exchange depreciation. A country suffering from an adverse balance of payments may allow the excess of demand for foreign currencies to bring about a depreciation of the currency—the British case of 1931; or a country may, in order to stimulate domestic output, depreciate its currency through a rise in the price of gold—the American case of 1933. These measures aim, *inter alia*, to improve the balance of payments through making the pound sterling (the former case) cheaper to foreigners. If the British sterling falls from $4.86 to $3.50 and British prices do not rise proportionately (assuming prices abroad are unchanged), then the British offer exports at bargain prices; and the rise in the price of the dollar (it would take about £3 to buy $10 as compared to a normal price of £2) makes American goods high-priced. The British may well, despite the fall in their export prices, sell more in dollars and buy less.

Finally, exchange control is the ultimate, the most effective and the most dangerous technique. Few coun-

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tries are today without a measure of exchange control. A popular tool in a regimented society, it has attained its highest form of development in Germany. All owners or potential holders of gold or foreign exchange are required to turn them over to the government or its representatives. Purchasers can only buy through the government. The government operates as a discriminating monopolist, buying foreign currencies at the minimum prices required to obtain them, and selling at prices determined in accordance with essentiality, given the objectives of the government.

In the German war economy, the government may pay 60 marks for 100 Spanish pesetas, instead of the normal 40 marks, as a special inducement to export: without the extra 20 marks, they would be unable to sell in Spain. (It is assumed the product is one the war economy does not need.) The government will pay less for pesetas obtained through the exportation of goods that might be needed at home or that could be sold profitably abroad, even if the government paid less than 60 marks for the 100 pesetas received for the exports. In its sales of foreign currencies, the government might sell 100 pesetas for 30 marks if tungsten is being imported; but will refuse pesetas or sell them at higher prices for less essential imports. These suggested scales of conversion are presented to bring out the principle rather than actual prices paid. Germany learned early that through exchange control, the government could determine who might stay in business, what industries were to be fostered, what countries were to be given special privileges, etc. Complete control over exports, imports and foreign capital yields complete economic and political control.

What Next? – To most of us, what is required is clear. We must above all have worldwide prosperity and improved standards of living. We must attain a high plateau and stay there, instead of fluctuating between periods of prosperity and depression. If we succeed, it will be the first time in our history. More than anything else, the decline of world incomes in the thirties contributed to the reduction of trade and foreign investment; and the latter in turn further depressed world income. A general upward movement of incomes is the safest insurance against international disequilibrium, which in turn brings autarchy and isolationism; tariffs and quotas; exchange depreciation and exchange control.

A synchronization in the main countries of the world of the rise to a high plateau will not give us complete insurance against international disequilibrium, as evidenced in losses of gold and exchange, or depreciation. A fairly even rise and, finally, worldwide prosperity will, however, be a long step toward international equilibrium. At full-employment incomes, the dangers of excessive imports are considerably reduced. If Great Britain is disposed to buy more, others are also disposed to buy more from her. If at a full-employment income, the British have, to use the economist's jargon, a high marginal propensity to import, that is, if the increase of imports is large for a given rise of income, then the British may still suffer from an adverse balance of payments; and corrective measures will be necessary. Under conditions of full employment, however, since in general no country is much out of step, the required correctives are more easily made than under conditions of varying degrees of depression and prosperity.

No Economic Munich

The nation must not be subjected to an economic Munich or Dunkirk. To have 10 million men unemployed is as dangerous to the nation as it was for the British to have 250,000 men on the beaches at Dunkirk. Kaiser, Higgins and a multitude of industrialists like them know the answer, and it is the same answer I gave to the Senate Committee—full production, full use of all resources. We must give these production-minded men a chance. They must not be ruined by financiers, seeking control through scarcity. Neither must the genius of these men be killed by the end of the war. New Kaisers, new Higginses, new Fords and new Edisons must be given a chance, and small business must be given an opportunity, if the 60 million are put to work.

The people who are fighting against me know that they are not fighting a starry-eyed liberal or mystic. If they really thought that, they wouldn't be worried. They are fighting against sound principles upon which America can survive as a great and prosperous nation. They know that with me in Commerce there would be a continuous campaign for maximum production, maximum sales, maximum exports and imports. They know I would rally business support behind the Department of Commerce to make it the great service institution it ought to be.

What these people don't realize is that in fighting me they are fighting you and millions like you to the third and fourth generations. Without realizing it, they are fighting against the survival of capitalism and free enterprise. The time has come to fight back. . . .

We welcome the future joyously. We shall organize an America worthy of our returning heroes. We shall transform our liberal words into concrete action. We shall do something about it when the veterans can't get jobs. Approaching the business, the farm, and the labor problems under the charter of the Economic Bill of Rights, we shall prove that our idealism is more practical in life than that curious mysticism which is called hard-headed common sense. – *Henry A. Wallace, speaking at the dinner in his honor, given by the Union for Democratic Action and The New Republic in New York, Monday, January 29.*

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We must also have a renewal of foreign lending. Without large amounts of foreign lending, the world will not easily recover from the destruction of war; foreign nations will not easily resume their upward climb to higher income and trade levels, a climb which was unfortunately delayed by the worldwide depression of the thirties. With a resurgence of foreign lending, the probability will be increased that the United States will attain its high-employment income, which we all, fearing the worst, are disposed to assure ourselves we shall attain. I envisage a need of at least $2 billion of capital loans per year to pay for an equal excess of exports per year. This may well go on for 10 to 20 years. And, as we shall see in a later article, we may gain greatly. Without these loans, the prospective burden put on domestic consumers to sustain demand, already admittedly great, may become excessive.

Many will point to the failures of the interwar period. Failures indeed there were. Yet we would not for a moment argue that our foreign lending was a failure. Rather it contributed to our national income in the years 1920-40. A government official recently estimated that from $13.4 billion (net) invested abroad, we received in exchange $9.8 billion (the value in 1940 of these investments) and $13.9 billion income (1920-40), or a net gain of $10.3 billion. This may compare favorably with domestic investments. Our direct gains have, then, been substantial. In addition, we should consider the favorable effects on domestic income of the increased volume of exports associated with the loans.

Yet, despite these important gains, a substantial renewal of private foreign lending, other than direct investments by private individuals, is not likely to be forthcoming without further intervention. Many losses were sustained, and defaults were numerous. The lending was uneven, planless and often aimed to mislead. A successful lending program will require government supervision by both lending and borrowing countries; a reduction in the rate of interest; an assumption of responsibilities required of the world's creditor nations; and guarantees and provision of exchange funds by the governments involved. We have learned, for example, that since the governments involved take the responsibility for exchange and tariff policies and for international equilibrium, they have a stake in the loans that are made. Private guarantees are worthless if the government introduces exchange control; and a disposition of the foreign borrower to pay will be frustrated if the lending countries, through tariffs, refuse to accept payments. The lender must be protected by a guarantee, from those in a position to know, that the loan will be productive and that therefore necessary incomes in domestic currency will be made available, and that the debtors will be able to exchange domestic for foreign currencies.

Foreign loans, however, will not be enough. They will clearly provide exchange for the purposes of reconstruction, development and rehabilitation; and, in the form of an international fund, they will yield dollars to tide over temporary emergencies where depreciation and fundamental readjustments are not required. But in many cases depreciation will be required. In this manner a country with an expensive currency may reëstablish equilibrium, and exchange depreciation under international supervision will become respectable. It will be respectable because it will be invoked when failure to have recourse to it drains the exchanges of other nations or causes serious economic or political disturbances. However, it will not, and must not, be considered as a cure-all. Countries confronted with an excess of imports or excessive lending abroad must rely on fundamental adjustments: reduction of costs, encouragement of export industries, development of markets. They will be helped by a lowering of tariff barriers abroad, and if all these do not avail, by conservation of exchanges.

In this article, we have given some indications of the decline of trade and investment and the significance of this for the great depression; the measures that were taken to isolate against outside disturbances; and, finally, the corrective policies that will be required if we are to rise from the abysmal depths of prewar levels of trade and investment. In the next two articles, on the fund and its critics and the bank and its critics, Professor Hansen will relate the discussion to the specific proposals approved at Bretton Woods.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

Song for Concentration

Hoard the heart lest all the heart
Spread smilingly too thin;
Guard the mind lest all the mind
Gaze outward, not within.

Heart and mind are easily wasted
Being scattered abroad;
O keep in mind and keep in heart
The recreating hoard

That makes the heart within the heart
By silence know its own,
And makes the mind within the mind
Breed consummation

Till heart and mind and mind and heart,
Sprung to a rich one,
Break the world and make the world—
The growing tree splits stone.

THEODORE SPENCER

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Washington Notes

At Home and Abroad

THE TEST of the success of the Big Three meeting on the political side will be whether Roosevelt goes ahead promptly with the Dumbarton Oaks program. After previous international gatherings, with the press excluded, there has been a lull in information after brief, unsatisfactory official announcement and whoopla. This time, however, there will be a success yardstick. The Dumbarton Oaks conference broke up, you remember, with "90-percent" agreement. Conferees couldn't agree on several crucial points: whether a big power could veto action, the status of small nations, and voting procedure. These points have to be cleared up with Stalin and Churchill before Roosevelt can hold the full-dress United Nations conference he wants. If that conference is called promptly it will mean that Big Three difficulties on the postwar world-security agenda have been straightened out. That isn't all. On the heels of the United Nations' conference, Roosevelt will submit a world-security treaty to the Senate. That will be the showdown battle. The schedule calls for fast action if all goes well—probably this spring.

Meanwhile the Senate is showing what it does with treaties. The oil treaty with Britain had to be withdrawn. British commentators wryly remarked they should have negotiated it with the oil industry, not the State Department. Now the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is hearing assaults on the United States-Mexican waterway treaty. As far as I can judge, this is a fair, reasonable agreement for equitable division of water in three international rivers, the Colorado, the Tijuana and the Rio Grande. It is being bitterly assailed by a well organized California-Nevada power lobby. Besides the water rights, two big issues are involved: Latin America is watching to see whether the Northern Colossus is really willing to treat a neighbor as an equal; the world is watching to see whether log-rolling special interests can use the anachronistic Senate two-thirds rule to block any fair treaty and keep the United States isolated internationally, as in times past. Apparently there aren't enough votes on the Senate floor to beat the Mexican treaty, as such; opponents will have to win, if they do, by trading and log-rolling.

A big decision on the Pacific war has been made. The bulk of American army equipment will be left in Europe, temporarily at least. This affects you, me, the national economy, reconversion, at a hundred points. Instead of sorting, boxing, ferrying and reshipping European armed equipment immediately to the Pacific, a new batch will be made at home and sent out. This will speed up the attack on Japan, it is believed, by many months. It will be terribly wasteful and extremely inconvenient, but it will pay dividends in time—and lives. Specifically, it means that when VE-Day comes, and the war narrows to a single front, there won't be a wholesale industrial reconversion, and we shall keep on making war goods at home although we shall have a superabundance at hand in Europe. That's one reason why this year's production schedules have been boosted half a billion dollars higher than 1944, and why the WPB has withdrawn plans to cancel some 350 of 500 existing industrial contracts when Germany collapses.

Iwo Jima is in the Volcanic Isles. It lies halfway between Guam and Japan. Up to last week we had bombed it on fifty-four consecutive days. If you're interested, it might pay to look it up: it's on the short-cut line to Tokyo itself. Expectation here is that when the Philippines are cleaned up, a direct landing will be made on the Chinese coast, not as a base for a massive land army—certainly not on the scale of that in France—but to set up large-scale air operations against Japan proper. (Chiang Kai-shek gives assurances, accepted here, that rearmed Chinese troops can ultimately clean up the Japanese on the Chinese mainland.) Our part will be to hit Japan direct. Even with carrier-based planes it looks as though we could establish air supremacy over the Japanese mainland. With Chinese bases, and an island or two, it will be easier. If Russia joins in, Japan will be hit from all sides. The combined prospect is for a terrific bombing: Tokyo may get it worse than Berlin. Island-hopping, as a base for big troop movement, is about over; probably Formosa will be bypassed. The climax will be an amphibious landing on Japan itself.

It's always good to remember that in the long run liberalism can't lose. Henry A. Wallace is at the head of a movement bound, ultimately, to succeed no matter what happens to Mr. Wallace. It's really a moral question: can a democracy find inspiration in peace to achieve the full employment won by patriotism in war? Put in those terms, even Wallace's opponents pay lip-service to his objective, though they fight every step of the way. The majority of this Congress are conservative. They are shocked and dumfounded by the "compensatory economy" already accepted in Britain. But the trend is against them, even though the setbacks are discouraging. In the close Senate vote on the preliminary Wallace test, it was good to note two progressive Willkie-type recruits to the Republican progressive minority; Saltonstall (Massachusetts) and Morse (Oregon). And even in the conservative South, the hand of change is evident. Southern die-hard congressmen here were shocked to learn that Georgia had repealed the poll tax. That leaves only seven poll-tax states; and Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee may act soon.

Keep your eye on liberal 37-year-old Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia, who engineered the victory. He could never have succeeded save for the persistent, aggressive anti-poll-tax agitation that has gone on right here in Congress for years, which is compelling Southern reactionaries to put their own homes in order or face federal regulation. The drive will continue. Enfranchisement will follow. People want to vote. Think of the breath of fresh air that will blow through the Georgia district of Eugene Cox, who kept his seat in the 1942 election when only 3,794 persons participated, all but one voting for him! He needed only two votes to win. The progress of reform in Congress is heartbreakingly slow sometimes—look at the child-labor amendment—but it comes, it comes.

Washington T. R. B.

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Fact and Application

"THE FIGHTING LADY" is a good feature-length documentary about an American airplane carrier and its successful career in the South Pacific, and next to "The Battle of Tarawa" it is the most chilling, matter-of-fact account of this war that has been shown in American movies. The best part of the film—which was otherwise shot by six navy photographers directed by Commander Edward J. Steichen—is the record of bombing attacks on Marcus, Kwajalein, Guam and Truk and of the Japanese fleet as caught by automatic cameras installed in the bombers. This kind of film, which is affected by every movement of the plane and journalistically records every bullet, evidence of flak and bomb hit, not only gives a violent sensation of dive bombing but records the destruction of a bombing raid as no other means has done so far. The editors wisely refrained from breaking into these records with shots of action inside of planes. Probably no other picture has given the audience a more realistic experience of the crashing force of a plane in combat.

The picture has been edited to include a maximum number of hair-raising incidents, and a number of events—like an exciting refueling of the carrier during a storm and a nerve-wracking fire-fighting job on a burning American plane—have been chopped too close. The only completely shown action is the strangest one: a logy enemy search plane hopelessly trying to evade a swarm of American fighters, and as it goes up in flames, the musical score, with typical Hollywood thoroughness, unnecessarily underlines its defeat with a spot of Japanese music. The destruction of American planes and fliers is almost totally cut out of the film, and even more noticeable deficiencies are the superficial, unimaginative shooting of shipboard life and the non-stop, non-cinematic commentary. This sounds like the heroic stories printed on boxes of Wheaties and is spoken on one grating note by Robert Taylor.

"On Approval" stays within the featherweight, vapid confines of a seventeen-year-old drawing-room farce about Victorians, and manages by amiability and a talented light touch to make its people and their half-assed lives quite lovable. It is the kind of play that is given to rearranging four uninteresting people in marriage for no other purpose than the kind of wit Abbott and Costello might pass up. But Clive Brook (who also directed it), Beatrice Lillie and Googie Withers make out all right with it. They realize how corny their material is and grab every chance offered to kid it, and they are relaxed enough and talented enough quite magically to make the people they are playing human. The film doesn't have the slightest look of modern movie design, which is a good thing. It is thoroughly secure in its kidding, indifferent as to whether or not it is killing its audience—which it isn't—and shows an awareness of the possibilities for achieving humor by a precocious use of the medium. The original play is too weak to stick to as closely as Mr. Brook's movie does, but faint as it is, "On Approval" is more like the work of human beings than you usually get today in films.

Besides the event indicated in the title, "Sunday Dinner for a Soldier" shows the cute existence and habits of a poor, orphaned family living on a Florida house boat, and contains about everything that is found in books like "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch." The problems have to do with scraping enough money together for food and clothes, or whether the girl should marry the rich boy and break up the family, and they get ironed out every minute on the minute by an interminable series of handouts, "miracles" and good deeds. The humor, which is a major part of every event, has to do with a clothesline's breaking and with six chickens turning up for the Sunday dinner when it didn't look as if any would. The family group is composed of cliché characters for the good ragamuffin family and range from the ventriloquist's-dummy-faced youngest son up through bearded "Grandfeathers." The acting is terrifying, and I felt every action and idea was interpreted so that I was not only shown the fact but told whether I should feel just happy about it or blissfully happy. The movie ruins two or three very good ideas, including the main one of a soldier being the guest of civilians, another having to do with whether "Grandfeathers" will kill the daughter's pet chicken (completely muffed), and another about a moonlight incident when the daughter dances dreamily in an abandoned, half-built seaside resort. This movie seems to me as unsuccessful as "Experiment Perilous," "The Unseen" and "Music for Millions," the last of which provides me with the chance to say that I don't think the child star, Margaret O'Brien, is as good as I once or twice said she was.

MANNY FARBER

The Tempest

The Tempest. Alvin Theatre, January 25, 1945.

MARGARET BREUNING in her remarkably competent introduction to the new Hyperion book of Mary Cassatt, quotes Degas—who was notoriously unwilling to put up with artistic ineptitude—as saying at this artist's exhibition, "I don't admit that a woman can draw so well as that." I confess I am inclined to go old-fashioned and say something of the sort about Miss Webster's production of "The Tempest." Whatever may be the short-comings of the occasion, you must be filled with wonder that one little woman, as it were, could pull all this together and send it off with such professional thoroughness. If you read the play again and see the problems involved for its presentation nowadays, you will better understand what is implied by my observation and may even take off your hat to her. Hers is not in the direction of poetry, but is a good show, something not to be despised.

Whether such is possible today or not, whether any sort of plausibility or absence of artiness could be achieved, is of course highly doubtful, but it is obvious that for "The Tempest" to get much of what Shakespeare intended, the Elizabethan stage is required, or something very like it. There are three points involved. First is the fact that Shakespeare exists and is alive through the words, which, whatever may be his invention in other theatre elements, remain the chief point of supremacy in his genius. Second is the necessity for fluid scenes, no breaks or delays, so that the special lyricism of his form and movement may be achieved. Third is the close contact with the audience, which the speed, the intricacy of expression and the variety in character require if they are to reach us.

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The matter of the quick changes and flow of scenes Miss Webster has solved well enough. Motley has designed a kind of rock mass on a revolving base that allows easy and continuous shifting of the scene. This is not an impressively imaginative creation; it is not in the same region as Mr. Robert Edmond Jones's designs for "Macbeth" or "Hamlet"; but it serves to good purpose. The first scene, however, of "The Tempest," that of the ship's deck in the storm, is written for some reason in lines oddly difficult to speak out or catch the meaning of; at best they might be clear for us by being spoken on the apron, smack out among the audience, as the Elizabethan theatre knew how to do. Motley has a painted drop of a fancy ship, which presently shows a transparent section where the commotion on the deck goes on. The scene is confused, wasted and dull.

If you study the stage history of the play you will see that in divers epochs it was produced with many additions, cuttings and general changes, though the nineteenth century brought it round again closer to the Shakespeare. Miss Webster has not cut very heavily or ironed matters out of the way until toward the end of the fourth act. There the interlude of the classic goddesses is cut out, and the famous speech of Prospero's about our globe and all which it inherit dissolving, and we are such stuff as dreams are made on and our little life is rounded with a sleep, is lifted out and put a whole act forward. Thus the finale of the play is changed from the sunny ending, with everybody happy, to this same ending followed by the characters' exit and Prospero left alone on the stage with his beautiful speech from the earlier scene. Whatever Shakespearean students may think of such alterations, the result is most effective, and is more lyric and moody, and thus more modern, than the text is or was intended to be.

As for the words, the character of course who most of all has the wings of words on which the play is to be borne is Ariel. Miss Vera Zorina understands the role and gives herself to its sweet flight and delicacy of presence as perhaps nobody else in our theatre could. She adds to this as a matter of course her expert ballet movement, her beauty and her grace of conception. All she needs is to lessen the extent to which her accent limits her, so that the complete freedom that Ariel asks through his lovely verses should be hers.

Mr. Canada Lee's Caliban spoke often with a good metrical ear; he was neither malign, evil nor frightening but fitted well enough in the general plane of the occasion. The two young people, Miranda and Ferdinand, Miss Frances Heflin and Mr. Vito Christi, were young players of an agreeable quality. In the light of the theatre around them on Broadway, we could hardly expect Miss Webster to teach them beautiful speech and style in a few weeks. Mr. Arnold Moss was a dignified and noble Prospero, with a good voice for the lines. And Mr. Paul Leyssac played the difficult and elusive and traditional role of the old councillor with his usual distinction, admirable speech and fine tone. The two comics, Trinculo and Stephano, so abundantly supplied with gusty, Elizabethan material by Shakespeare himself, were capitally played by Mr. George Voskovec and Mr. Jan Werich, until lately among the prime favorites of the Czecho-Slovakian theatre.

Serious students of "The Tempest" can find many interpretations of its meaning, all kinds of things about power, about freedom, spirit and matter, good and evil, and so on. It is best to begin that discussion merely with noting that "The Tempest" is one of those creations in art that achieve a truly fable form, which means that within it infinite implications may be applied. On the starry, poetic side, "The Tempest" given by the children of the King-Coit School far surpasses any I know of.

So far as the themes of demons, beneficent spirits, witches and magic are concerned, nobody can arrive at any intelligent approach to "The Tempest" who thinks that either Shakespeare or his audience interpreted these scenes as we might by childhood impressions from fairy tales. For centuries before and generations to come these matters were as close to the people as technology may be to us. Some of the best minds of their times were concerned with the subject. For a list of books that were written, and an excellent study of pneumatology in Elizabethan drama, we can see Mr. Robert Hunter West's "The Invisible World," published by the University of Georgia Press.

STARK YOUNG

Science and Technology

A New Technique in Coal

A REVOLUTIONARY DISCOVERY in the recovery of coal has been made. Coal can be burned underground and the gas thus produced can be used to operate turbines or converted into many vital by-products. This new method, when fully developed, can not only mean a tremendous saving of natural deposits now left underground but can also furnish added employment under safer and healthier working conditions. It would be sheer sensationalism to predict the disappearance of mining of the old type, but it is certain that new branches of the coal industry will spring up.

Although the idea of coal gasification was toyed with by scientists of the nineteenth century, it was not until 1933, when three Russian scientists of the Donetz Coal and Chemical Institute prepared the first practicable plans, that the discovery became a reality.

The chemical nature of coal and its gases forms the basis of the method. The principal chemical constituent of coal is carbon, about 83 percent. In the process of combustion, the carbon of the coal combines with the oxygen of the air. If combustion is complete, one particle of carbon combines with two of oxygen and forms carbon dioxide (CO_2), the familiar use of which is to carbonize water for our soda fountains. When combustion is incomplete, the combination of carbon and oxygen is one to one and is called carbon monoxide (CO); it can be further combined with oxygen to form carbon dioxide and has various applications.

In the experimental gasification of coal underground at Gorlovka, the first of the Russian mines set afire to produce gas in 1937, the composition of produced gas averaged up to 18 per cent of CO, 15 to 19 percent of CO_2, about the same amount of hydrogen (also combustible) and from 42 to 47 percent of nitrogen, an inert gas. The heat value of this gas was 153 British Thermal Units per cubic foot. Such a gas is suitable for metallurgical purposes and is similar to the ordinary producer gas. In the early stages of

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these experiments it was found, however, that the blast of air into the mine to maintain combustion is not satisfactory, as the air contains 79 percent of inert nitrogen. Air therefore must be enriched by additional oxygen, but ordinary processes of producing it are too expensive for the purpose. Professor Kapitza, of Kharkov, solved this problem. His method produces oxygen at a lower cost.

This oxygen-enriched air produces a mine gas that can be used directly as the reducing agent in the production of iron. Such a gas obviously has other uses. It runs a special gas turbine to generate electric power and, because of its chemical nature, forms a base for further chemical transformations such as producing ammonia by combining carbon monoxide with steam and then washing out the carbon dioxide. Thus we have valuable soil fertilizers and explosives. With further chemical processing, such a gas would yield methyl alcohol, which is of immense importance in the manufacture of synthetic rubber. Moreover, the large percentage of hydrogen in the mine gas forms the basis for the hydrogenation (liquefaction) of coal to produce gasoline.

This is quite a versatile gas. Like that used by the Fisher-Tropsh process for making synthetic gasoline, it is a mixture of carbon monoxide and hydrogen. This mixture, in proper proportions and after purification, is passed over a suitable catalyst to obtain low-octane gasoline, excellent Diesel oil and other products. One ton of these primary products can be derived from carbonization of from five to six tons of coal.

Gas produced underground, on the other hand, is quite unlike the gas and other by-products derived by carbonization in low or high-temperature distillation of coal. Coke, coal tar, light and heavy oils resulting from this older process of coal distillation are not obtainable when coal is completely gasified.

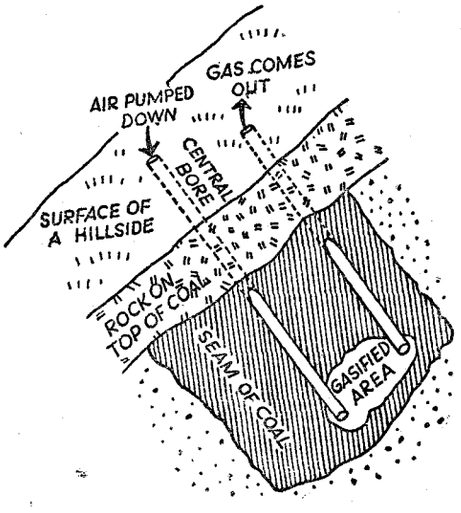
In other words, different processes yield different primary products. We have often heard of the modern miracles of coal-tar distillates ranging from aniline dyes to sulfa drugs, in connection with the by-product coke ovens and low-temperature carbonization. This older process has gradually reduced the waste of millions of tons of coal and its multiple products in the beehive coke ovens. In 1942, by-product ovens alone produced 880 billion cubic feet of gas for domestic and industrial purposes in the course of manufacturing metallurgical coke. Yet this method of carbonization yields five basic products (coke, gas, coal tar, oils and ammoniacal liquor) for which there is no ready market for the quantities derived. It is thus apparent that there is room for both methods of processing coal: by carbonization and by gasification. Each yields different basic products available for different chemical treatments in the manufacture of a variety of by-products.

Several methods of underground gasification were tried in the Soviet Union, depending on the quality of coal (from lignite to anthracite and bituminous coals) found in the Donetz basin, Central Russia, Siberia and the Far Eastern provinces. Essentially, the method consists in drilling two bore-holes, or shafts lined with metal. These shafts are then connected by a horizontal bore, and while air enriched with oxygen is pumped into one, the coal, which was ignited either by electricity or by red-hot coke, emits gas; this resulting gas escapes through the other hole. Two conditions are found to be necessary for successful operations: (1) all the oxygen contained in the blast must come into contact with carbon monoxide formed at an early stage of burning coal underground, and (2) the bulk of the gases must come into close and extensive contact with reactive carbon before much of the heat of the first reaction is lost. This method may be used to advantage in thin veins, in coal deposits at a sharp slope or in mines partially destroyed by previous fire. The bore-holes may be in pairs or arranged radially, thus offering gradual extension of gasified zones leading to wider and fuller utilization of the deposit.

Available reports differ sharply on the questions of the efficiency and completeness of coal gasification underground. Thus Chambers' Journal, Edinburgh, asserts that "There is a 100-percent conversion of the coal to gas, which comes to the surface rich with all its vital chemicals . . . for the great chemical industries of the future." Contrariwise, the British Coal Utilization Research Association, in its Review Series Number Three, claims that, "Regarded as a gas producer therefore, the method is not very efficient, both because the cold-gas efficiency and the calorific value are low unless oxygen enrichment is used and also because of the very large amount of coal which must be left underground partly coked and mixed with mineral matters."

Nevertheless the process of gasification underground has many specific advantages and in the Soviet Union even as early as 1938, some 10,000 tons of coal were gasified. In November, 1940, a mine at Lisischansk was put into operation, with a daily capacity of 20 million cubic feet of gas. Since then other Russian mines have been added to the list.

What are the probabilities of converting United States mines to underground gasification? Our annual toll of mine fires, caused by inadequate safety measures, defective electrical installations, etc., is steadily mounting. The deposits are thus irretrievably destroyed and so are the miners' jobs—to say nothing of the many lives sacrificed. These mines, once sealed, could be adapted to gasification. We have numerous unworkable mines that are either in too thin a vein of coal, or one too high in ash content, or at a steep incline. These mines lie dormant, providing no employment, producing nothing. Furthermore, a large number of coal mines are "marginal," *i.e.*, uneconomical to operate except in time of great demand. These, too, are likely candidates for gasification operations.



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According to Russian records, in such operations an equivalent of 75 tons of coal is converted per man per month by this method. Even at this rate gasification would provide substantial additional employment. As in the case of the liquefaction of coals recently discussed at the Senate hearings, according to Secretary of the Interior Ickes, "It is unlikely that private capital will venture into a new and untried industry, no matter how bright the prospects may appear." Yet, speaking on behalf of the United Mine Workers, Mr. W. Jett Lauck assured the Senators that such a project "meets with the instantaneous approval of the mine workers," since "it opens new and important fields for the use of coal. This in itself alone means added opportunities for employment."

This new method of underground gasification of coal creates new opportunities for the coal industry successfully to complement, if not compete with, the petroleum industry, which has cut such deep inroads into our coal markets. With the gradual and inevitable depletion of our oil reserves, despite the ever increasing wild-cat drilling, treatment of underground coal gas by the Fisher-Tropsh process holds promise for a new supply of liquid synthetic fuel for automobile transportation, Diesel engines and, directly, as gas, for the operation of gas turbines.

Moreover, further treatment of gases produced in the mines yields nitrogen and hydrogen, as has been stated, forming a base for the manufacture of fertilizers and explosives. Future demand for more synthetic rubber will call for methyl alcohol, which is also procurable from these mine gases. The magic wand of modern chemists can multiply and vary these by-products according to the need. And, as the demand for higher grades of coal for export to the war-torn and backward countries which will slowly become industrialized, grows, the marginal and submarginal mines could be brought to life, creating employment and new wealth.

WALTER N. POLAKOV

The Bandwagon

The "Arkies," "Oakies" and "Kansies"
ARE GOING HOME
Thousands of them each month.
When you wake up to the fact, Doctor, that they forgot (?) to pay you,
DON'T SAY WE DIDN'T WARN YOU
Now is the time to collect.
– From an advertisement of The Doctors' Business Bureau, in The California and Western Medicine Advertiser.

Phil Hopkins, vice-chairman of Fight for Free Enterprise, announced here today the organization would advocate a state law requiring officers and representatives of labor unions to wear identifying headgear while engaged in union business. *– AP dispatch from Austin, Texas.*

Forever Dynamite

She stood there, young and vulgar and magnificent, in a white-hot blaze like a blowtorch—like that ammunition dump in Buna we blew up with a square hit, thought Hunch. *– From a story by Vicki Baum, in The Woman's Home Companion.*

Something for the Boys

THE RIGHT WAY TO TAKE A BEACH! No Uniform! No Gear! No one shouting orders at you . . . just you and some *sweet little cookie* racing across white sand without a care in the world.

That's the way Cape Cod really is, when you're there to enjoy it. Won't seem much like Camp Edwards, will it? *– Advertisement of the New Haven Railroad printed in the Paris edition of The New York Herald Tribune.*

The Proof of the Pudding

Ward's, in opposing the closed shop in all of its forms, has not been prompted by any feeling of anti-unionism. Ward's has fully recognized the freedom of all of its employees to join or not to join a union, as they wished, and has assured all employees that their opportunity with the company will be the same whether they are union members or not. *– From a half-page advertisement of Montgomery Ward, in The Los Angeles Times of January 21, 1945.*

Mongomery Ward and Company is found guilty of spying on its employees, discharging for union activity, trying to influence an NLRB election, and otherwise engaging in unfair labor practices, in an NLRB examiner's report issued here [Washington] today. *– From PM of January 29, 1945.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

From the South Pacific

SIR: From the depths of our doughnut-dugout canteen in Townsville, Australia, I feel impelled to write you a note of appreciation for the consistent mental stimulation derived from each issue of your magazine which reaches me. Although they necessarily arrive long after date of publication, there is a magnificent Time-lessness—and I use the pun advisedly—about the thinking of your contributors that infuses even those articles of topical significance with a long-view vitality. It is good to know that the battle of ideas, for which the bombs out here and everywhere provide only a background, is being waged so gallantly and with such high-minded fervor at home. Let us hope that you will help achieve a victory for all liberals that will be heralded with as much prayerful gratitude as our ultimate success in the field will warrant.

Townsville, Australia VIRGINIA LOEB, A. R. C.

Catholicism and Birth Control

SIR: Your courage in printing the Trowbridge article on "Catholicism Fights Birth Control" [The New Republic, January 22] is surely commendable. . . .

Ingram, Pa. EDGAR D. BELL

SIR: Some weeks ago I read Professor O'Neill's article, "The Birth-Control Debate" [December 11]. I wanted to write to you at that time, but I am glad that I procrastinated, as Mr. Trowbridge has said so much better than I could the things I would have liked to say regarding civil rights and democracy, in reply to Professor O'Neill's article. Mr. Trowbridge's article should give all of its readers a great deal to think about. . . .

New York City ADELAIDE WERNER

SIR: As a believer in and supporter of the cause of birth control for many years, I want to express my personal appreciation for

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your fair-minded attitude on the subject, as shown by your publishing both sides of this much discussed question. . . .
Pittsburgh, Pa. MRS. LOUIS J. AFFELDER

SIR: It was revealing and welcome to read the Rev. Cornelius P. Trowbridge's article. Although I happen to be a strong supporter of Planned Parenthood within a state with legal restrictions, I am most grateful for your publication of the article from a civil-liberties point of view. . . . Your courage in printing this article may add one more plank to the firm foundation of solid democracy our boys are fighting to give us freedom to build.
Milton, Mass. MRS. ELIZABETH B. BORDEN

SIR: Allow me to congratulate you on the article by the Rev. Cornelius P. Trowbridge on the Catholic attitude to Planned Parenthood. He leans over backward to be fair. . . . Thank you for making public this information, terribly needed in benighted Connecticut.
New Haven, Conn. MRS. EDWARD BLISS REED

Future Election Prediction

SIR: After the election in 1936, I predicted to my family and friends that Henry A. Wallace would succeed Mr. Roosevelt as President, but I never in my wildest dreams expected, at the end, to see the whole Republican Party press join me in his nomination. It will be much more powerful than I can be in his election. It has been responsible in large part for four terms of Mr. Roosevelt, and is now well on its way to a fifth victory under the Wallace banner. More power to it.
Boston, Mass. H. R. BYGRAVE

From Two Readers

SIR: More power to the best news and opinion journal in the United States!
Philippine Area J. D. B.

SIR: As a new (Christmas) subscriber who looks forward to not having to search anxiously over newsstands as I have been for the past year, I want to say that I appreciate your fine features and articles very, very much.
Oakland, Calif. ELIZABETH OHBERG

Joads in New York

SIR: Several years ago when John Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath" told the ugly story of California's "Joads," many of us here in New York expressed our horror at conditions under which California's migrant farm workers lived and labored. An investigation made last summer of family farm labor camps in this state by the Consumers' League of New York reveals that the East, like the West, has its "Joads." The League's investigator found hundreds of families crowded together in filthy camps—some living even in converted horse stalls—often an entire family forced to sleep crosswise on a single bed. The usual facility for providing water for farm camps—even where there are as many as 250 migrants—is a single outdoor cold-water faucet. This is all that is available for drinking, cooking, washing and bathing.

Health and recreational facilities for migrants, except in a few rare instances, are practically nonexistent. Most communities in the farm areas regard with scorn and hostility "those pickers" who live in their neighborhood, so they are excluded from normal community life. Illegal employment of children is common practice. Children at the ages of five and six go into the fields "to help mamma pick."

An analysis of the League's report reveals clearly the necessity not only for legislative action, but for stricter enforcement of existing protection laws. This report—"The Joads in New York"—is available in pamphlet form for 10 cents a copy from the League's headquarters—170 Fifth Avenue, New York 11.

The League plans to conduct an educational campaign to inform and arouse the public regarding the problem of migrant farm labor in this state. With the expected support of public opinion, it will not only press for strict enforcement of existing laws, but will also sponsor additional needed legislation.

We welcome the coöperation of all interested individuals and groups.

FLORINA LASKER, Chairman,
New York City Consumers' League of New York

From The New Republic Mail Bag

J. Anton de Haas, professor of International Relationships, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, writes us a letter of about 1,600 words to protest an editorial on "The Future of Imperialism" in The New Republic of January 22. Although this editorial dealt with all types of imperialism throughout the world, Mr. de Haas apparently assumes it dealt exclusively with the Netherlands East Indies. He says the editorial overlooks many admirable things about the situation there. The NEI is no longer a colony, but since 1922 has been part of the Netherlands Commonwealth. The Indies, Curaçao and Surinam would have had complete political equality with the Netherlands in Europe before this, were it not for the war. He gives many examples to show there is little or no race prejudice in the NEI. Natives hold important posts; native culture has been preserved; natives are judged by native law. He says the agricultural wealth of the NEI has been created largely by the Dutch, and that the benefits are shared by the Dutch and the natives. He thinks Americans ought to do something about race prejudice in the South before criticizing the Dutch in the NEI.

Several youthful admirers of Frank Sinatra have written to protest Bruce Bliven's recent article about him ("The Voice and the Kids," The New Republic, November 6). Betty Bauer of San Antonio, Texas, who has heard of the epidemic of juvenile delinquency, suggests that Mr. Sinatra be turned into "a crooning detective" to lead young people out of crime. Julia Belle, too indignant to give her address, writes a long letter, winding up with, "If we choose to idolize him, who are you to interfere?" Katharine Murray of Southold, New York, sends in a poem saying, "He gets me crazy, I don't know why." Marilyn H. Hanson of Chicago writes that she was broken-hearted not to be a member of the huge crowd in the Paramount Theatre, New York City, when Frankie appeared there in person.

A suggestion that foreign slave laborers now in Nazi Germany might remain there after the war to form the nucleus around which a new democratic German state might be built, is advanced by J. Shafer of Kansas City, Missouri.

February 22 is the date set for the inaugural issue of a new publication called For Hawaii, edited by Katharine Lackey and published by a staff of Associates for Hawaii in Honolulu. Its editor writes that For Hawaii will be dedicated to liberal principles and "will live on plain nerve for a while, of which it has a sufficient amount to storm the feudal gates of Hawaii's Big Five"—the Big Five being the sugar barons who control Hawaii's economy.

The John L. Elliott Institute announces a series of six lecture courses for its new semester, beginning February 5 at the Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West Sixty-fourth Street, New York 23. Topics dealing with the political, economic and spiritual issues of the peace will be discussed by outstanding speakers.

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Books in Review

Fragmentary and Whole

"EVEN THE CHIPS of it are invaluable," says Williams,[1] voicing once again the poetic faith of an imagist. To be sure, he has never been confined to the restricted subject matter of most of the imagists, which Aiken stigmatized long ago as "the semi-precious in experience." By contrast Williams has followed the Whitman tradition in opening up ever fresh material from common existence. He defines poetry here as "the exceptional truth of ordinary people," and finds a characteristic image of beauty in

> a cylindrical tank fresh silvered
> upended on the sidewalk to advertise
> some plumber's shop.

He has said that imagism failed because it did not master "structural necessity," and he reaffirms now the belief shared by Whitman and Thoreau that a poem must grow organically out of physical life. But the dangers in that principle, as Whitman proved far too often, are that the poet can become so happily absorbed in the immediate concrete details that he mistakes their life for the structure of his poem. Such is the case with most of Williams' poems in this book. None of them shows the formal invention that made "The Yachts" or "The Catholic Bells" into sustained wholes. The best are those that depend on the intimate knowledge of humanity that Williams has gained as a doctor to working people in an industrial town. Like Lawrence, he has wedged deep into the mingled gentleness and violence of love. He can also demonstrate the validity of his axiom "No ideas but in things!" by creating unforgettable pictures of ditch-diggers in a sewer or of a woman facing him with the demand for an abortion. But he never presents these with the grimness of the naturalistic novelist. From first to last Williams' great quality has been gusto. That carries him through the best, if one of the shortest, poems here, "The Dance," which celebrates how the big-bellied men and women still

> prance as they dance
> in Breughel's great picture, The Kermess.

Though his poems do not deal with the war, Williams felt the necessity of beginning his preface by saying that they too are part of it, "merely a different sector of the field." Such a need to identify himself with the war has operated more compulsively on Aiken. His last book, "Brownstone Eclogues" (1942) was marked by his turning away from his too persistent theme that "the maelstrom holds us all," and by a consequent access of new perceptions and of more energetic rhythms. "The Soldier"[1] is another departure, a meditation on the course of history: "Dark is our past, secret and dark our future." Its theme may have been suggested in part by Eliot's "Quartets," but Aiken's own delicately modulated music is, as always, the chief sign by which we know him. The line just quoted suggests the kind of interweaving from the past that he makes here. It is a paraphrase from some Anglo-Saxon gnomic verse, and there are similar allusions to Widsith, to an ancient Chinese poet, to Suetonius, Leonardo, Napoleon and others.

His grave account of mankind's migrant course becomes unsatisfactory only as it is brought near the present war. Then its weaknesses are the two that generally beset war poetry by a civilian. Aiken either delivers the too easy statement that "we are all soldiers," when we know very well that ours is not their sacrifice, or he concocts an equally facile justification of all wars as "true culture-bearers." True as that may be for the anthropologist, such cool detachment has the effect of making present suffering remote and unreal. Such is hardly the function of a poet, and Aiken's real subject is heroic struggle of the kind he understands and also interweaves—that of Beethoven facing deafness, or of Keats facing certain death with the remark that he feels like "a soldier marching against a battery." Five years hence, Aiken's references to The Infantry Journal will seem even more adventitious and superficial than they do now.

The tensions between good and evil, so slurred over by Aiken's detachment, form the substance of Tate's best poetry. In the eight years since his "Selected Poems" he has written quantitatively little, but, as his poem to the memory of Yeats reveals, he has learned from that master deliberately to loosen his style. He too has tried, like Robert Penn Warren recently, to bridge the gap between the poetry of the coteries and that of the folk. One result is his experiment with a ballad refrain in "Jubilo"; another is his conversational piece, "Eclogue of the Liberal and the Poet." In "Ode to Our Young Proconsuls of the Air" he engages in topical satire, but though he has a fine dry irony against those who hold that "Proust caused the fall of France," it is harder, as with the Southern agrarians generally, to know what he takes his stand politically for, and not merely against.

Tate is most effective as a poet of religious sensibility who finds very difficult any sure affirmation of faith. "More Sonnets at Christmas" continues his debate with himself, and expresses more compellingly than his directly political poems his misgivings as to the international role we are likely to play so long as we are complacently superior and possessed with

> a faith not personal
> As follows: The American people fully armed
> With assurance policies, righteous and harmed,
> Battle the world of which they're not at all.

The most ambitious work here is "Seasons of the Soul." This sequence is steeped in Dante, as Eliot has been, but

1 The Wedge, by William Carlos Williams. Cummington, Mass.: The Cummington Press. 109 pages. $3.50.
2 The Soldier, by Conrad Aiken. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. 32 pages. $1.

1 The Winter Sea, by Allen Tate. Cummington, Mass.: The Cummington Press. 43 pages. $5.

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Tate has worked out a very personal effect in his ten-line trimeter stanzas mounting to a refrain. It is characteristic of him that the two somber seasons yield the best poetry. "Autumn" embodies the hallucinated dread that Tate has expressed before, notably in "The Wolves." It conveys the atmosphere of nightmare, as the poet, caught at the bottom of a pit, confronts fragments of his past. It reminds us of what Tate meant by saying: "I often think of my poems as commentaries on those human situations from which there is no escape." The most integrated whole, and one of the most impressive of recent poems is "Winter." An invocation to the Goddess of Love to return to our time of dead faith, it builds its structure through the antiphonal contrast of its refrain. "The livid wound of love" is what we know all too much about in our lust and violence. What the poet prays for is its transformation to "the living wound of love." The rich texture of this poem depends on the bold interpenetration of sexual and sacred imagery. It is further commentary on our strange reading habits that at a moment when any bad novel can sell by the thousands, such poetry has to be issued in a limited edition, at a prohibitive price.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN

Mr. Dallin's Dream-Book

The Real Soviet Russia, by David J. Dallin. New Haven: The Yale University Press. 249 pages. $3.50.

THIS, the third of Mr. Dallin's critical estimates of the Soviet Union, is particularly related to the last to appear, "Russia and Postwar Europe." Together with an earlier work on Soviet foreign policy and one yet to come, on Russian attitudes in the Far East, they form one of the most powerful, sustained and embittered attacks on the Soviet ever to have appeared. The thesis of the last book was that the Soviet has not in the least given up its efforts on behalf of world revolution, but that its methods have changed. Its foreign, like its internal, policy was a consistent effort to adapt the classical Leninist policies to contemporary necessities. The so-called New Nationalism, with all its alleged consequences, such as the "restoration" of religion, was a mere tactical expedient which had not seriously modified the essential content of the Soviet society, to which Mr. Dallin was profoundly hostile. His book, I ought to say, did much to restore my faith in the USSR in an indirect as well as a direct fashion. Mr. Stalin needs democracy in Germany and elsewhere, Mr. Dallin admitted, because a large Communist Party can only grow up within a democracy. The admission, concerning Stalin's need of democracy, which might well have been the starting point of a fruitful discussion about the nature of political collaboration with the Soviet Union, was of no profit to the author. One sensed his undying hostility in that failure.

The present book is a companion piece to the preceding one, and is best viewed in that light. There the attack was on liberals such as Alexander Werth who have argued that the New Nationalism indicated a permanent abandonment of revolution. Here Mr. Dallin quite logically denies that Stalin has relinquished his socialist intentions for Russia or that the essential socialist controls have been imperiled. But this is only a necessary part of the main assault, which is

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delivered against those who hold that there is anything of human value in the USSR.

It is, in a way, an impressive performance and one which has even its moments of brilliance. But its brilliance is not merely seen in certain passages of insight. The rhetorician and the experienced debater will see in "The Real Soviet Russia" one of the most extraordinary polemical exhibitions that have ever posed as objective analysis, as full of devices and special techniques as an election campaign. The first chapter, for example, consists of a recapitulation of the more ludicrous errors and absurdities committed by reporters on the USSR. In most cases there is no disputing with Mr. Dallin, but what one does notice, after a brief while, is that the great majority of the examples are taken from writers who have found something of value in Russia. One feels that it is Mr. Dallin's perhaps unconscious intention to weaken the force of all good reports. The reviewer, who is not a specialist in Russian internal affairs, could quote just as many absurdities on the other side. An authority on Russia has written that "by 1914 only one-third of the peasants owned land." A certain Russian expatriate has said of that statement that it is "pure nonsense. The percentage of landless peasants was negligible." The Russian expatriate is Mr. Dallin and his piece of "*klyukva*" (double-talk) occurs in this very chapter, on page 2.

What follows in "The Real Soviet Russia" is what is described as an analysis of Soviet society. Chapter Six concerns itself with such phenomena as the growth of inequality during the Stalin period. Mr. Dallin's attitude is a curious one. He knows that the Russians do not claim to have achieved equality. He knows too that they are very ready to point out that they have not done so. He will even admit that the movement away from equality was a tactical necessity imposed by the Soviet isolation in a capitalist world. He cannot but be aware that the degrees of inequality in the Soviet are far less wide than they are in Great Britain or the USA. Despite all this and despite the Communist Party's abandonment of all immediate emotional interest in equality, he considers it a point of tremendous importance to make, that the Five Year plans have restored the incentives of differential payment. The intention again might be considered a rhetorical one, for what follows is an attempt to describe the rise of the "New Upper Classes." That these are indeed classes having a permanent indestructible relationship to property and privilege he does not show. As a corollary he denies that the Soviet has given any substantial benefits to the working class. With a desperate and somewhat pathetic vigor he seeks to prove, what should hardly require proof, that the working class of today is not the working class that made the revolution.

The curious point runs in harness with a section entitled "Why No Labor Movement in Russia?" The answer he gives, in part, is that the new working class is composed of peasants who have brought their typical peasant attitude into the factory. This is supposed to prevent organization. Again, a very high proportion of Russian workers are women (which fact the author regards as a deplorable consequence of the low level of living). Women, presumably, do not organize easily, whatever a New York garment worker may think. And finally, the skilled workers are few, and these are the best organizers in any country. In the

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Soviet, one might add, a very large number of these skilled workers are Communists and believe that their trade unions fulfill at least a large part of the proper role of a trade union in a socialist state. One may disagree with them about that role, and to a great extent I do, but there is no doubt that they believe they have a labor movement.

After dismissing every Soviet claim, Mr. Dallin says that it is "easy to imagine the relations existing between the working masses and the Communist Party." It is so easy that one such imaginer, Boris Souvarine, described in his book as a "French authority on Russia," declared in 1937 that Stalin knew that the Russian people would never resist an invader. Mr. Dallin, in his extravagant chapter on forced labor, quotes Souvarine as saying that in 1937 there were 15 million slaves in the USSR. He supports this accusation by appealing to such authorities as Alice-Leone Moats, chiefly known for her sympathetic reports of interviews with Spanish fascist leaders. That there are far too many prisoners of this sort, that there are so many as to constitute a serious argument against Communist claims that a valid socialism has already been achieved, cannot be doubted. Yet the only serious authority to be quoted, Leonard Hubbard, contents himself with the word "millions."

Mr. Dallin asks us to believe in a nightmare Russia of total misery in which only a relatively small and fear-haunted, guilt-ridden class enjoys any real privilege. The general picture is not in accord with the severely critical report of such an anti-Stalinist writer as Markoosha Fischer. Mrs. Fischer, a wholly scrupulous expatriate, recognizes that despite even the purges (which seem to this writer to indicate a desperate neurosis within the party), the general mass of the people were happy. "It was hard to leave Russia," she has written, "which I had seen transformed from a backward, unhappy, weak country into a new nation palpitating with life and powerful not only because it had a strong modern Red Army but because it had the enthusiastic, devoted and loyal support of its population. . . . Yet I could not still my longing for personal freedom."

Mr. Dallin apparently hopes for a new revolution in Russia, directed against the Communist Party. In his Conclusion, he tentatively weighs the possibility of this, basing himself on the contention that Russia, already a country of the enslaved, has become a land of the exhausted and the maimed. He declares that there will be tremendous resentment of the way in which the war has been fought. The embitterment, the strangely reversed logic, the macabre hope that seems to be expressed in the language of pity, the inveterate rhetorical disposition, may be seen in this quotation from the last page:

> The entire country will remember these methods when streams of human beings begin to move across its distances after the hostilities. They will come from German enslavement in search of new abodes, from war prison camps, exhausted, humiliated and sullen. Millions will come from the East, from the regions of evacuations, after years of illness and crushing labor. And finally, there will come the millions of troops from the fronts, who emotionally, intellectually and physically, will have experienced a great deal more in the years of war than would have been possible in decades of normal life. East and West will meet, North and South will come together. The legless, the armless, the invalids of war, the millions of widows and orphans will be for decades a feature of Russian cities and villages.

The Dictator and The Devil

By SEVERANCE JOHNSON

Was Moloch incarnated in Hitler?

Did the youth-devouring god of antiquity take possession of the Madman of Berchtesgaden?

Such questions may best be answered by reading "The Dictator and the Devil," an epic poem of fifteen cantos evolved out of both World Wars, which tells how the spirit of Hitler voyaged through space to the planet Pluto for aid to conquer the world, how he met Hate, Lies, Lust, Drink; also Mephistopheles, Chancellor of Infernal University, and Moloch, Hell's Minister of War.

Finally the wraith of the Fuehrer was introduced to Satan and tried to cheat him with a deceptive contract. Lucifer punished Hitler promptly and sent Moloch to earth to enter the body of the Nazi chief and wage his wars with even more fury and fiendishness.

" 'The Dictator and the Devil' gives a most striking presentation of the real nature of this World Conflict. I hope it may be widely read and may help many to realize that in this War we are fighting against the very Spirit of Evil. (See Ephesians, VI—Verse 12)." **Bishop William Thomas Manning** ***of the Protestant Episcopal Church, New York.***

"This book ought to rank alongside of Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' It has put all the major problems of our time into one great poem." **Leon Milton Birkhead,** ***National Director of Friends of Democracy, New York.***

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The released Russian prisoners from German war camps will be humiliated? At this moment, I imagine, they are thinking of the Red Army thundering toward Berlin. I do not doubt that they are very proud. RALPH BATES

Strange Fear

The Winds of Fear, by Hodding Carter. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 278 pages. $2.50.

"THE WINDS OF FEAR" is the best portrayal of the rising racial tension in the South that this reviewer has yet read. At a time when "Strange Fruit" is still selling at the rate of more than a thousand copies a week, it would be regrettable if Mr. Carter's compact and explosive narrative were to suffer to the extent that a public, having read the best-seller, would pass it by completely. There is no place in this review for serious comparison of the two; actually together they form a tight whole, and to read one without the other is to find that you have missed some of the pieces that dovetail into a complete picture. For where Lillian Smith was exploring the past, Hodding Carter is writing as an eye witness of a period when race relationships in the South are at a very low ebb.

It would seem unfair, then, to review his book merely as a novel, for it has implications which are the grave concern of us all. In this country we have a race problem which is older than any living man or woman and I am sure that Carter wrote his book, not because he saw in this the elements of an exciting novel but because he was sorely troubled by what is happening in the South. That the novel form seemed best suited to present these feelings might almost be said to be coincidental, and, writing in anger and some bitterness, what he has to say is far more important than how he may say it.

The main fear of the title is, of course, the fear of race, something which anyone who is not a Southerner may find hard to understand. It is like a small boy who has somehow managed to catch a wildcat by the tail but having accomplished this, finds himself in a much worse position. He would like to let go but is afraid to; the tail is short and slippery and he realizes all at once that he never should have tackled it, yet he can only hang on grimly and stall for time. The white folks of Lillian Smith's Maxwell, Georgia, were in that position twenty-five years ago and we find the situation unchanged in the present-day Carvel City, Mississippi, about which Hodding Carter is writing. The white man is sick of the fight and would like to turn the Negro loose, but after a lifetime of grinding his face in the dirt, is afraid of the consequences. To his fear has been added guilt, and to justify both he can only cling to the worn-out legend about the Negro.

When war came to the South it accentuated the problem of race. Whites felt that Negroes were getting uppity and only strong measures could force them back into the old pattern. Negroes, on the other hand, had made some gains and they meant to keep them, especially the younger ones who no longer have faith in gradual processes and close coöperation with the better white folks. There is a growing militancy afoot which not only fans the winds of fear for the white Southerner, but bothers some Negroes as well. What happens when a backwater Negrophobe and reformed drunkard is made town marshal in order to apply those strong measures takes up the major part of Carter's book.

Cancy Dodd is neither new to the South nor to its literature, he is the man who cut off the dog's tail in "Kneel to the Rising Sun," and in that one short story Caldwell created something which became a symbol. Cancy's only way was the way of violence, and it could only lead to violence in return. The fight that Kirk Marby, editor of the town paper, Alan, his son, recently home from the South Pacific minus an arm, and Henry Boling, the town liberal, wage against Cancy and what he stands for is the drama with which Mr. Carter deals. The pattern is not an unfamiliar one, but it is handled with honesty, courage and conviction.

Within these confines there is little with which anyone could find fault. If there is a doubt in the reader's mind, it is likely to be one that was in mine. I am sure Mr. Carter will agree that the overthrowing of a symbol, Cancy Dodd, is no solution but merely a temporary postponement of another series of crises in the same general pattern. But the important thing is that here is another Southerner deeply troubled by the lot of the Negro in his native land and one who tackles its solution in a positive manner. This in itself, though not enough, is none the less encouraging.

I expect that what I am trying to say is that "The Winds of Fear" is not the novel about the South for which so many of us have been waiting. This is in no way to be taken as a slap at Hodding Carter, for the same thing can be said of "Strange Fruit." It may even be that such a book will never be written. But if it is, I have a feeling that it must go beyond the two novels I have just mentioned, both in solution and in the illumination of the Negro in the South. He is not the bumbling and well meaning symbol of the safe Negro, Professor Moorehouse, nor is he the neurotic and slightly hysterical Dr. Stanley, the symbol Mr. Carter has chosen to represent the Negro born in the North.

BUCKLIN MOON

Mr. Ziff's Dilemma

The Gentlemen Talk of Peace, by William B. Ziff. New York: The Macmillan Company. 530 pages. $3.
War Criminals: Their Prosecution and Punishment, by Sheldon Glueck. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 250 pages. $3.

MR. ZIFF'S "530-page telegram to the American people" might as well have been reduced to the traditional 10 words and sent as a night letter to nowhere, for all the good it will do anybody except Mr. Ziff and his publishers. Yet an examination of the nature of his dilemma will not be without value, for all of us are implicated in the muddle of Mr. Ziff's world.

Mr. Ziff sees Western culture assaulted by "inexorable forces" arising from the impact of the Machine Age upon the outmoded political forms (read boundaries) of modern states. These forces may be summed up as Race, Russia, Germans and Bureaucrats. Another force, which underlies these, is the "blind magnetic surge toward total power" of

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the "anonymous mass-man." The British Empire, of course, is sunk, the Atlantic Charter isn't worth the paper it wasn't written on, and the whole edifice of white supremacy is threatened by the pressures of excess population, resentment and radicalism arising in the East. As you may well guess, halfway counter-measures will not suffice: "Soothing syrups doped with minor concessions will not tranquilize or subdue the situation." Radical action is called for. Such as what? Be patient, Mr. Ziff will tell all on page 455. Meanwhile you must be content with a rehash of old stuff on the New Order, a steaming stew of Ortega y Gasset, Brickner, Winkler, Nizer, Burnham and John T. Flynn; windy wastes of crude over-simplification and rhetoric calculated to drive semanticists mad.

Through it all, one discerns an ambivalence in Mr. Ziff's attitude toward Western capitalist society, an ambivalence of which he is perhaps half-aware but cannot resolve and which produces, four-fifths of the way through the book, a solution which is no solution. On the one hand, Ziff assails "our prejudices, our commercial instincts and our, by now, traditionally purblind conservatism." On the other hand, Ziff attempts to defend Western values (which he never positively defines) against the inroads of historic change. He speaks, with Churchillian nostalgia, of the "demoralization of cultural forces which have been painstakingly erected by centuries of human effort." He speaks of the "Socialist doctrine" of full employment. He predicts that returning veterans will be "impatient with the stupidity and arrogance of the new bureaucratic rule." He laments that "the philosophy of free competition and the sovereign individual has yielded to the witchery of the planned economy and the sovereign state."

Alternately Cassandra and Canute, Mr. Ziff struggles to reconcile his awareness of injustice and his presentiments of impending disaster with a vast fear of the future. Out of the nightmare, he plucks a panacea which bypasses history and evades the issues he has been at least fitfully aware of for 400 pages. Race bothers, almost obsesses, him; but since he regards racial tension as the product of a struggle between the "sullen, intractable and murderous" ego of the Negro and the opposing ego of the white man, aggravated by the propaganda of the Nazis, the "enraged Oriental peoples and Marxian revolutionaries," he cannot contemplate a humanist solution, but proposes that the Orientals be walled up in the Orient and that American Negroes be encouraged to migrate to Africa, which would be set up as a black Zion. The United Orient and mandated Africa would be two of five self-contained Power Aggregates; the others would be the USSR, a United Europe, and a Union of the West comprising Britain, the Western Hemisphere and Australasia.

Having found national sovereignties troublesome for 400 pages, he abolishes them. Fearful of Russian domination of Europe, he creates a power vacuum in Europe, and gives the Soviets some warm-water ports and some islands in the East Indies. Having found the small nation anachronistic, he would have the United States absorb Latin America for the same reason that Mussolini took "backward" Ethiopia. In short, without further cataloguing the absurdities of Mr. Ziff, it is sufficient to say that, having found his world intolerable, he has divided it into five parts.

But the ghosts will not be laid. And herein lies the significance of Mr. Ziff's dilemma. He has not written this book; it has written him. It is a kind of automatic writing, exposing the terrible funk of the partisans of the "old legitimacies." This failure of nerve exists and grows, behind the doggedness of the King's First Minister and the cockiness of Eric Johnston. And we are all involved.

Professor Glueck, the Harvard criminologist, brings us back to the daylight world with a brilliant *tour de force* which may well become a classic of international law and which should, in any case, be required reading for those gentlemen in the British Foreign Office who are responsible for the current doldrums of the United Nations War Crimes Commission. Mr. Glueck advocates the immediate creation of an International Criminal Court for the prosecution, not of the small fry, but of the principal military, political and industrial war criminals, from Hitler down. With a fine scholarly passion, he wades into his subject, determined not to allow "preoccupation with legal concepts" to interfere with the imperatives of elementary justice. Aware that punishment of fascism's master criminals is primarily a political not a judicial act, he is nevertheless concerned with building up a respect for international law and legal process, and he would therefore try Hitler and "perhaps Victor Emmanuel and Hirohito" for violation of the "laws and customs of legitimate warfare" and of the "principles of criminal law generally observed in civilized states."

It must be said that Mr. Glueck develops a formidable case; the book's weaknesses are due to its deliberately narrow compass and its artificial isolation of the juridical tail from the political dog. Mr. Glueck is guilty of simplifying history in accepting Allied claims of sole German guilt in World War I; much is made of the Leipzig trials of 1921, but had not the Allies predetermined their outcome in conniving at a still-born German revolution which prevented "bolshevism" at the cost of leaving the Leipzig bench and the nation as a whole in the hands of the Kaiser's unreconstructed nationalists? Mr. Glueck

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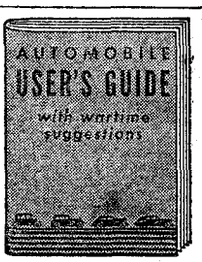

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should have given us a chapter on the use of revolutionary justice; he has not drawn at all upon the Italian experience, which shows the frustration of justice because we are protecting the arch-criminals. Only an international community can create effective international law, not vice versa; that community will grow only as the healthy elements in all nations, including Germany and Italy, acquire political control. RICHARD N. KELLY

A Reader's List

PLANNING NO. 229: Export (Political and Economic Planning. Available through The New Republic, 25 cents). The disastrous decline in their exports during the war years has given the British cause to worry. That they may be unable to restore prewar levels of trade seems a most pressing fear. PEP does not foresee an immediate recovery of shipping and investments at the war's end. Yet these invisible exports were a significant part of Britain's trade and they must be replaced with a permanent expansion of tangible goods. The editors hope for increased exports of specialized capital goods, such as machinery and automobiles and of high-quality consumers' goods, such as chemicals, drugs and dyes. The fundamental condition for the export trade is a high level of world effective demand and an increased efficiency and flexibility in British industry. The influence of American conditions, the broadsheet says, must not be overlooked. The world cannot escape the devastating repercussions of American economic failure. Prosperity at home will be our contribution to world prosperity.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF LATIN AMERICA, edited by Seymour E. Harris (McGraw-Hill, $4). Seventeen North American economists write about our Southern neighbors in this readable and expert symposium. They discuss industry, agriculture, banking, fiscal policies, trade practices and price problems. Latin America's dependency on international prices is stressed throughout. Predominantly exporters of primary commodities, these nations are especially interested in foreign exchange. Unable to borrow capital except at exorbitant rates, they have acquired a strong predilection for exchange manipulation. Yet these practices are but momentary solutions; they engender retaliatory measures and in the long run retard economic development. Latin America, the authors agree, should stimulate domestic industry, foster training and education, and above all, accumulate capital. By these devices only, can the standard of living reach high levels. This volume is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of Latin America.

SEEING THE INVISIBLE, by Gessner G. Hawley (Knopf, $2.50). For those who want to know about the oft-mentioned electron microscope, one of the major advances in science tools in recent years, here is the book. Mr. Hawley writes with authority, simplicity and clarity about its inventors, the principles of its operation, its use in synthetic rubber, virus and other investigations, and the future possibilities of this new instrument. Magnifications as high as 50,000 of the tip of a cat's whisker, the windpipe of a honey bee, the "smooth" edge of your best razor blade, and other photographs help to make this a fascinating little book.

Crime and Punishment

GREEN HAZARD, by Manning Coles (Crime Club, $2). Tommy Hambledon, British Intelligence's ace agent, isn't too happy to find himself, through circumstances beyond his control, back in Berlin. This time he is masquerading as Herr Professor Ulseth, inventor of the world's most potent explosive—Ulsenite—for which the Nazis have the highest hopes. Though no chemist, Tommy is no dope, and the story of how he turns the tables on the Germans is fast, exciting and frequently hilarious.

THE 17TH LETTER, by Dorothy Cameron Disney (Random, $2). Mary and Paul Strong are worried about their friend Max, cameraman for News Review, who is flying back from Iceland. Max doesn't arrive, but his last letter—the seventeenth—does, and it contains nothing but an old theatre program. Then things start happening, but fast, and the Strongs wind up in the thick of a Nazi sabotage plot. In fact the chase that ensues in Halifax would have made Mack Sennett green with envy. Not bad fun, but does anyone agree with me that the average spy novel will never take the place of a nice, simple murder?

APPLEBY'S END, by Michael Innes (Dodd, Mead, $2.). It is my disagreeable duty to report that Mr. Innes, author of the brilliant "Hamlet, Revenge!" "Lament for a Maker," etc., has sadly overreached himself in his latest fiction. He has attempted to write a Gothic spoof of the detective story—and, heaven knows, with a family named Raven, living at Long Dream Manor and having a servant named Heyhoe (plus other oddities too numerous to mention), he has not spared the horses, but he is hoist with his own petard. The only comfort to be derived from the mess is that the title refers to a railway station and not to the demise of John Appleby, who throughout bears up much better than could—or should—be expected. E. H.

Contributors

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